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MY Lab Bulletin,

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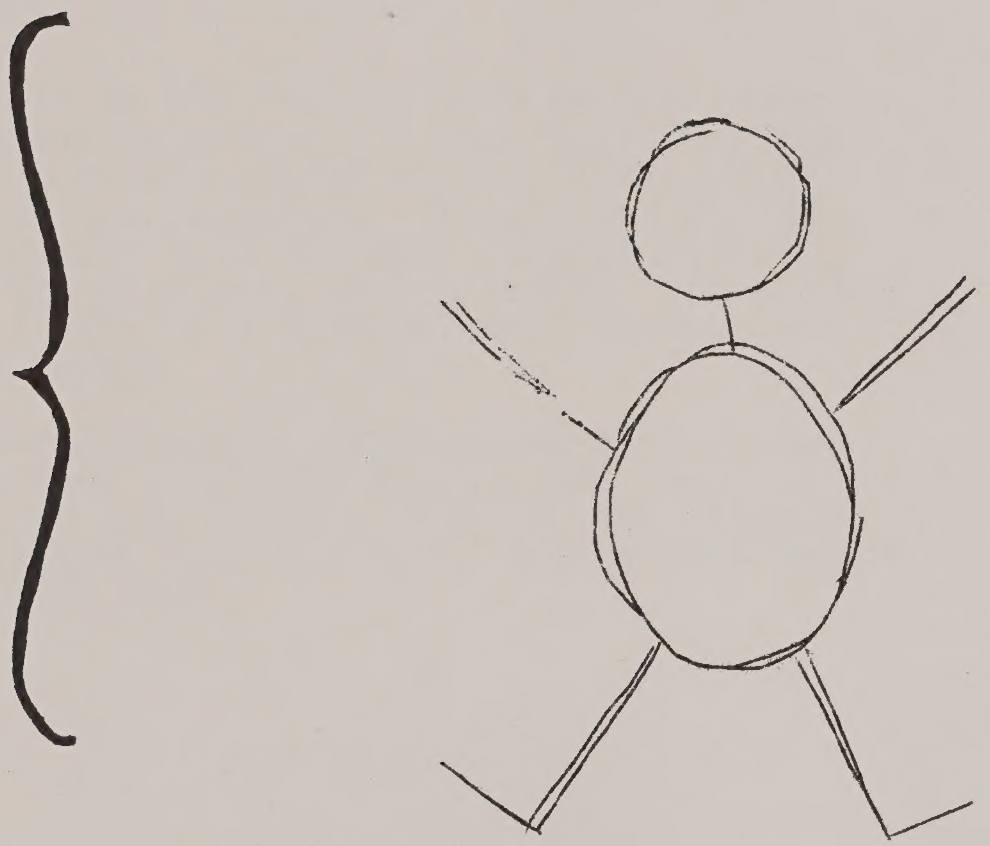
(in section [redacted] on Foundation Grants,
~~Some pages are out of order,~~ } fixed
I forget which issue.)

Harvard Lab Bulletin, #3 Edited by TN,

June? 1961

Laboratory of Social Relations

BULLETIN



v. X,
1960-1; 3.

EMERSON HALL,
HARVARD U.

This is the last of this year's irregular Lab Bulletins. I hope that they may have provided others with a little information and enjoyment. I most enjoyed my interviews with the many faculty members, and the pleasant, though rushed, afternoons spent with Miss Hennedy, Mrs. Burnham and Miss Sagoff.

Unfortunately a discussion section has been very difficult to run, and there is none in this issue. However, the biggest discussion section of all begins just beyond the last page.

Laboratory of Social Relations BULLETIN, v. X, number 3.
Theodor H. Nelson, Editor   Associates: Miss Mary Hennedy
Mrs. Elizabeth Burnham

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The Members of the Department:
A Whirlwind Acquaintanceship
(Part II.)

It is one of the Lab Bulltein's principal functions to furnish Members of the Department and students with as much information as may be politely gathered about what goes on here. To this end, there follows a digest of quick interviews with some of the faculty. (Half were covered in the previous issue.) Obviously what they think and do cannot be well summarized in this bleak and hasty presentation; but it may be hoped that the reader will find out slightly more if he reads this than he would have known, had he not.

Dr. Lotte Bailyn is working with Prof. Kelman (on leave) on a study of the attitude changes of foreign students. Within the fabric of Kelman's theory of social influence, they hope to learn what changes are undergone by Scandinavian students in their images of other people, of the countries in their orbit, and of themselves.

Dr. Norman Bell teaches at MacLean Hospital and studies close social settings. At MacLean he is working in a three-year study of social milieux and how they affect symptoms of psychological difficulty. His study treats of the hospital setting as a whole, with both staff and patients acknowledged as participants. He is also studying the extended families of disturbed children. Is the disturbed child an imprint of parental conflict?

Dr. Bell is also collaborating with Dr. Spiegel on a book tentatively called, The Origins of Social Psychiatry. In addition, he is working with Drs. Spiegel and Kluckhohn on their evolving system of kinship-classification, in which the family unit is the base. His part of this study focusses on coping mechanisms within the small social system.

Speaking of kinship, Dr. Bell edited the Lab Bulletin in 1954.

Dr. Charles Bidwell is collaborating with Dr. King on the Harvard student study; he handles the sociological side, Dr. King the psychological, at least in the formal division of labor. The study, now in its third year, will encompass five years of study when it is done. Beside the questionnaire sampling and interviewing panel, the study will examine the structure of Harvard, for what Lazarsfeld calls "primary" and "secondary" environments. They hope to learn how the students control each other, and how great an influence faculty values actually have.

Dr. Bidwell is also studying, with Dr. McArthur, the values and career patterns of the Harvard classes of 1941 and 1942, and comparing them with the values of today's cohort. They are looking also for an understanding of "turning points," the effects of career opportunities and marriages. In addition, Dr. Bidwell is studying organizational effects of socialization--what kinds of student indoctrination takes place in schools organized different ways.

Dr. Z. P. Dienes is investigating the way mathematical concepts are learned. In particular, he is studying the anatomy of the "concept-cycle"--an insight is formed in a previous chaotic perception, which then itself becomes part of a new steady-state. Dr. Dienes seems to be having particular success with concrete objects devised to guide conceptual development--toys and other things. Similarly, he is using games to demonstrate group theory, and plans to build a machine for presenting these games to the subject. It is already apparent that "rigged" insights can be quite as potent as accidental ones.

Dr. William Gamson is studying community decision-making, to see how "issues" travel through a community, and ascertain what factors affect their initiation and resolution. They are following three particular community issues, one of them fluoridation. Seven communities are now in the study, and more expected.

Dr. Cora DuBois is leaving this summer for a 14-months' stay in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India, a pilgrimage town of a millenium's standing, now about to be made state capital. Her object will be to study the people who service pilgrims at Lingaraja, an 11th-Century temple, which is being transferred from its old status as a corporate family holding to bureaucratic control as an historical monument.

In this research she will be joined by Dr. A. Aiyappan, of the University of Utkal, and two graduate students who speak Oriya, the dialect.

Dr. George Goethals is interested in the psychology of adolescence. His book, with Lesley Allensmith, The Role of the School in Mental Health, will appear this summer. The second half of the book comprises his research with W. Cody Wilson on possible sources of teacher conflict. This fall he will publish a book-length review for the Russell Sage Foundation, The Role of Social Sciences in Mental Health Programs.

Right now he is doing a cross-cultural investigation of Erikson's notion of the "moratorium"--experimenting with roles, or hell-raising, before commitment to a life-role. He is interested in the duration and types of moratoria that exist, and their apparent distinctness from initiation-rites.

Dr. Neal Gross is engrossed in the National Principalship study, a 41-city, 4-year, stratified-sample project studying the roles of school principals. Interviews and questionnaires are being extracted from the principals, their supervisors, and the teachers under them. The interperceptions of all persons in the hierarchy count.

Of interest in the study are the 'leadership climate' of higher administration, and the sense of authority and autonomy the principal sees above him; the community demands he sees; his personality. Where does he think decisions take place? What things determine his orientation, and how importantly? And how may he resolve conflicts over different views of his role? A commitment-scale, measuring the importance and toughness of his commitment to the job, appears to Dr. Gross to be a significant development from this study.

Dr. Paul Gross is working on Prof. Murray's study of the stress interview, particularly on emotional experiences and physical change--with heartbeat a main variable. In addition, he is studying thematic analyses and simple behavior--the way themes in Rorschachs relate to themes in discussion. Outside our Laboratory he is doing research on the metabolism of blood-protein.

Dr. Alex Inkeles is working these days on the social psychology of industrial society. An article, "National Character and Democratic Politics," will appear in Francis Hsu's forthcoming Psychological Anthropology (Dover).

Dr. David Kantor is on the Study of Student Volunteers, one which appears to have quite a stunning importance. Under a careful controlled experimental design, he and his co-workers are measuring the effect of student volunteers in the treatment of the mentally ill. The student volunteers are some 200 Harvard and Radcliffe students who go part-time to visit Metropolitan State Hospital, regularly, over the whole year. This program, the first of its kind, was begun by Phillips Brooks House several years ago, and on the strength of its apparent good effects a number of colleges around the country have undertaken like programs.

However, in an effort to ascertain its real effect, the study has been undertaken. Matched wards were selected, and students visited the "experimental" wards, while none visited the "control" wards. To avoid conflict with the professional staff, only the more hopeless wards--that is, the wards for

which the professionals had the least hope--were involved. To date, a statistically significant improvement in the experimental patients has been found in six of the ten factors of the LORR scale, while the control patients have continued to degenerate in the usual fashion.

In another part of the enterprise, Dr. Kantor is associated with "Well-Met," a cooperative house near the University. It is a "half-way" house in the usual sense, an adjusting-place for persons newly released from mental institutions. It differs from others, however, in the youth of its hosts and the normality of its relationships--both men and women are members of the cooperative. The returnees are both men and women; the Harvard men also live in, and the Radcliffe students take their meals there.

According to Dr. Kantor, students are more effective than professionals or middle-aged people because their roles are more flexible and they can maintain a working indignation, where the professionals must be resigned.

Dr. Kenneth Keniston is heavily involved with Social Relations 10 and the courses of Messrs. Riesman and Erikson. In addition, he is working on a book, building from a last year's article on alienation and disaffection from adult standards.

Dr. Stanley King is working with Dr. Bidwell on the Harvard student study. The objective is to understand the changes normal Harvard students go through, studied over five years; of these, a 25% random sample, some 300 students, will be taken from both the classes of 1964 and 1965. In addition, a panel of fifty will be deep-interviewed, and act as nuclei for "snowball" techniques of clique study.

In addition, Dr. King is writing a study of "Social Perception, Illness and the Health Profession," and a chapter on attitudes and roles, probably to be called "Psychological Factors in Illness," for the forthcoming Reader in Medical Sociology, edited by Levine et al.

Dr. Frederick Mosteller has been appearing at 6:30 AM Monday, Wednesday and Friday on NBC in a coast-to-coast probability-and-statistics course. He is also trying to settle the authorship of The Federalist Papers, using certain methods of word-count and statistical inference.

Dr. Florence Kluckhohn is sharing with Dr. Spiegel a study of "well" and "sick" families in the Cambridge area, in search of the different effects of time-orientation in the cultural backgrounds of the families. In addition, she and several others are working out a uniform reportorial system for family casework, which will supplant previous kinship analyses--by characterizing the entire family group, and delineating the roles within it, possible sources of trouble (like discrepancies of value) and available coping-mechanisms.

Mrs. Kluckhohn's new book with Fred Strodtbeck, Variations in Value-Orientations, is just out.

Dr. Theodore Kroeber is working on Dr. Murray's stress-interview project, with special attention to the things subjects remember as the time increases since their stress interview. In general, Dr. Kroeber is interested in such things as style of speaking and memory.

In California, he is doing a study with Norma Hahn of ego mechanisms--"coping" mechanisms of different sorts, including defense mechanisms, employing data from the Rorschach.

Dr. Sydney Croog is studying the organization of the Children's Hospital Medical Center in Boston: in particular, the impact of personnel on the organization, and the way in which their "social identities" effect the climate of the organization and the performance of tasks. Under the sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation, he is now completing a book on this work. Dr. Croog is also studying the internal organization of local public health services in New England.

Dr. Charles McArthur is principally psychologist to the University Health Services. He is doing work on the thematic analysis of personal documents. In addition, he is custodian of the Grant Foundation Study, a longitudinal study of the classes of 1941 through 1944 of the most comprehensive kind. The data are psychometric, psychiatric, anthropological, sociological, physical and medical. This research is currently being sponsored by the NSF.

Dr. Walter Mischel is writing a book on the relation between personality theory and personality assessment, dealing with techniques and roles to be used; tehtatively called, *An Approach to Personality Assessment*. In addition, he is doing a study of salient "images of self," and the way Germans see Americans, for the forthcoming Kelman book *Images in International Behavior* (tentative). In addition, Dr. Mischel is conducting delayed-gratification studies: what do children do when confronted with a choice of a little candy bar now or a big one later? He hopes to relate the data from this, and other techniques, to personality and family correlates, and to experience with promises.

Dr. Henry A. Murray has been directing a comprehensive study of the stress interview, in which subjects had to argue for their "philosophies of life" before motion-picture cameras, under tense conditions, Considerable preparatory and follow-up data have been collected. The subjects were twenty-five undergraduate volunteers, and the object was "to record a single event more completely and accurately than has ever been done." Thoroughgoing interviews, physiological recordings, tests of recall, projective tests and a money prize are all parts of the study.

On another tack, Dr. Murray and his group have for years been working to understand imaginative productions. They have recently been testing a new TAT with much grosser and stranger symbolism than the usual one, and find the divergences of response interesting: for instance, between inner states and abstractions--or, rarely, literal interpretations.

Dr. Benjamin D. Paul is involved with a number of studies in progress. One is that already mentioned in connection with Dr. Gamson, the community-decision study of Massachusetts towns debating fluoridation. Another is a study of persons discharged from mental hospitals. It has been indicated by the first stages of the study that their behavior on return home depends largely on the personalities of those around them and the expectations of their families. In the working class, the families evidently expected less of them. A third project is studying the relationships between local health and welfare organizations in New England, in their collaborative and competitive dealings.

Dr. John Pelzel wants most to compare China and Japan. Lately, however, for want of data on China, he has been concentrating on Japan, studying small industrial communities and territorial sections in big cities.

Because one of his chief interests is in the general relations between values and social structure, he finds the new developments in China most important. The communes have broken up family kinship organization and sought to impose a territorial organization. The consequences of such a change, if successful, will enlighten our understanding of the evolution of values, setting aside, of course, the more sinister implications.

Dr. Philip Slater is writing a book on Greek mythology, particularly the mythology of the family-structure. He is also working with Ted Mills (of Yale) on the general effects of discussion, building partly from the protocols of Social Relations 120. The idea is that eddies of interaction may be closely related to experiences of awe and apprehension; people talking start religion, as it were.

He sees the same thing at Cushing Hospital, where he does psychiatric consulting. Cushing is a geriatric hospital, and in his group of octogenarians there is much talk of death.

Dr. Justin Weiss has been studying dreams induced under hypnosis--that is, by request, under controlled conditions. Topics he has been investigating are the similarities and differences between suggested dreams and spontaneous (the usual kind,) and the effects of hypnotizing affect upon the dreams.

In quite another vein, Dr. Weiss is studying aspects of ego development in schizophrenics who have been blind from birth. He would like it pointed out that there is room for students to participate in this research.

Dr. Alden Wessman is studying personality characteristics associated with mood level and mood variability. These are changes within the individual: punitivity, diversion of aggression, and changes in self-concept and ideal concepts. Mood-data from Harvard and Radcliffe students spanning have yielded thirteen mood-scales in factor analysis. The factor loadings point up personal emotional conflicts. More stable individuals have more factors. Checks and balances? Dr. Wessman is also involved in Murray's stress-interview study.

Beatrice and John Whiting, at the center in Palfrey House, are now at work on a two-volume, six-culture study of child-rearing. The study interweaves such diverse data as household organization, residence patterns, identity, infant stress, adult height, marriage-patterns and projective systems--which seem to include the shape of houses.

The Whitings are also studying Barbadian families in Cambridge, testing hypotheses about cross-sex identification. They hope to find significant psychological differences between the sample's twenty-five mother-child households and the twenty-five nuclear-family households.

Ph.D. Theses, 1961

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Cortes, Rev. Juan Bautista, S.J.

Thesis: "Physique, Need for Achievement, and Delinquency."

Kremen, Irwin

Thesis: "Dream Reports and Rapid Eye Movements: An Appraisal."

Plog, Stanley Clement

Thesis: "Flanders vs. McCarthy: A Study in the Technique and Theory of Analyzing Congressional Mail."

Shaffer, John Barton Payne

Thesis: "The Sojourner's Orientation to a New Culture: A Study of Scandinavians in America."

Greenberger, Mrs. Ellen

Thesis: "Fantasies of Women Confronting Death: A Study of Critically Ill Patients."

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Bunker, Douglas Rich

Thesis: "Motives, Person Percepts, and Social Behavior."

Field, Peter Benjamin

Thesis: "Social and Psychological Correlates of Drunkenness in Primitive Tribes."

Millert, Olaf William

Thesis: "The Empathic Process: A Study of Analytic and Non-Analytic Modes of Person Perception."

Wilson, William Cody

Thesis: "The Development of Ethnic Attitudes in Adolescence."

Abelson, Mrs. Willa Dinwoodie

Thesis: "Differential Performance and Personality Patterns among Anxious Children."

Ph.D. Theses, 1961

SOCIOLOGY

(Joint degree in Sociology and Mathematics)
Churchill, Lindsey Crawford, Jr.

Thesis: "Aggression in a Small Group Setting."

Giele, Mrs. Janet Zollinger

Thesis: "Social Change in the Feminine Role: A Comparison of Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Temperance, 1870-1920."

Kayser, Christine Roma

Thesis: "Calvinism and German Political Life."

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Ryan, Edward Joseph

Thesis: "The Value System of a Chinese Community in Java."

INTERDISCIPLINARY PAPERS
May 1961

Clinical Psychology

CRIDER, Andrew B.	Sociological & Psychological Aspects of Folklore Myths and Rituals
FISHMAN, Daniel B.	Motives, Defense Mechanisms, and Coping Techniques
GUDEMAN, Jon E.	Psychosomatic Medicine: A cross-cultural approach to treatment practices
HOFFMAN, Marvin A.	Anti-Semitism in the South: A Multi-Dimensional Approach
KATZ, Richard	Creative Process
MEYERS, Charles J.	Constitutional Psychology: Reconsidered
DUBITZKY, Mildred	Confession and Confide-ence: A Study in Interpersonal Communication
HOFFMAN, Mrs. S.V.	Self-concept and a modified role approach in psychotherapy
KAZDIN, Phoebe	Flexibility of Interpersonal Mechanisms: Concept of Social Competence

Social Psychology - Personality

DREW, David E.	Perspectives of anthropology, sociology, and cognitive psychology applied to the concept of mental health
HALL, Gordon F.	Influence of the prison social milieu upon the personal constructs
WEIL, Gunther M.	Disease conceptions: A possible dimension for scoring a predictive index of acculturation
RAYNSFORD, Mrs. S.	Personality Differences between and within the Sexes: A Theory of Sexual Identity Formation

INTERDISCIPLINARY PAPERS
May 1961

Social Psychology

DARLEY, John M.	Memory: (1) Reasons for study; (2) Criticism of current methods; (3) A New Approach
KALIN, Rudolf	A theoretical model for content analysis
KOHN, Paul M.	Some Proposed Extensions of Cognitive Dissonance Theory
SLOBIN, Dan I.	Conditions Contributing to the importance of Language in Current Soviet Psychology
DUCKWORTH, Eleanor	Cultural Influences on Perception
HYDE, Mary	Sources of uncertainty for the brain-injured child, and the therapeutic "school"
KELLEY, Patricia	Analysis of Magazine Fiction-1960 (model-Berelson & Salter)
MOOSBRUKER, Jane	Modern Organization Theory and the Mental Hospital
STEINITZ, Victoria	Cognitive & Non-Cognitive Uses of the past--How the layman views history

Social Anthropology

ADAMS, John W.	Taboo: Consideration of an economic and the Freudian theories, using Navaho data
HAUSER, Stuart	Existential Psychology (the study of world view in Tikopic)
BRIGGS, Jean L.	Cross-Cultural Study of Attitudes toward Physical Ability
CARTER, Jean B.	Dissonance Theory in Cross-Cultural Perspective
SHAND, Anna F.	Space as a Stimulus: Cultural Consistency in Definition and Response to space use of surface..

INTERDISCIPLINARY PAPERS
May 1961

Social Anthropology (continued)

YAGAI, Tamako	Social and valuational forces for & against national unity in a pluralistic Society (Malaya)

Sociology

EARLY, Rev. John D.	Cultural Accumulation & the Psychological Problem of Accumulation in Biblical Religion
HILL, David J.	Problems in the Assessment of Social Motivation and Aspirations
LAUMANN, Edward O.	The Concept of Anomie: A Proposed Reformulation
NELSON, Theodor H.	Commitment to Ideas
PERRY, Stewart E.	Sociology of Knowledge-Science and Ethnoscience
ROTHMAN, Kenneth I.	Sorting and Socializing in the Context of Higher Education
SMITH, David H.	Social Stratification role, and personal system factors
WERLIN, Robert J.	Juvenile Delinquency
GAFNEY, Mollie D.	Reflection of social organization, "World View"
KAHN-HUT, Rachel	American Immigrants, an example of assimilation..
KANT, Mrs. Martha M.	Women Graduate Students: Career and Marriage

Harvard Lab Bulletin #2, Edited by TN
Apr 1961

Laboratory of Social Relations

BULLETIN

v. X,
1960-1; 2.

EMERSON HALL,
HARVARD U.

Laboratory of Social Relations BULLETIN: X, 2 (April, 1961.)

Theodor H. Nelson, editor.

Miss Sara Sagoff, Miss Mary Hennedy and Mrs. Elizabeth Burnham, associates.

Notes on the Faculty: Part I 2
Research Reports 11
Discussion Section 16

This being for private circulation, one should check with the researchers before quoting its material elsewhere.

The Members of the Department
(Part I.)

It is the first business of the Lab Bulletin to tell what people in the Department are doing. Because, however, this calls for interviewing half a gross of disparate and scattered individuals, it takes a lot of time. The enterprise has been dichotomized partly to be more readable, and partly because some outlying people have not been successfully contacted. Not being in possession of all our faculties, we will treat half of them below, and save the rest. The second installment will appear presently in the year's last issue.

Here, then, presented as if for outsiders, is a short listing of the interests and work of members of the Social Relations Department whose offices are at Emerson Hall, 9 Bow Street, and Morton Prince House. Very crudely, things might be described like this: Emerson Hall (right in the Harvard Yard) has the sociologists; 9 Bow Street (nearer the Houses and bike rentals)* has social psychologists and social anthropologists; and Morton Prince (off on a pretty, dead-end street past Memorial Hall) has the clinical psychologists. But none of these is an island; each is a part of the main. The main is Social Relations, a very large, centrifugal, permissive, friendly department with some difficulty of internal communication.

A word on methodology: the people listed here are those who are also listed on a mimeographed, annotated "Social Relations Directory" given to the Lab Bulletin. We have treated the list like a dictionary: not necessarily right, but authoritative. If anyone has been wrongfully left out, we should be told; and if anyone has been misrepresented, we beg indulgence.

Gordon W. Allport is revising his 1937 book, *Personality*. The new version will probably be entitled, *Pattern and Growth in Personality*. His principal research interests today are trained on the work of his students. Some of their research projects that he would like read into the record are the following: A study in the measurement of prejudice (Harding and Schuman). An analysis of the mail sent to Senator Flanders during the Army-McCarthy hearings (Stanley Plog). A study of changes in prejudice and cognitive structure during adolescence (W. Cody Wilson). A study contrasting "intuitive" and "analytical" modes of perceiving personality (Olaf Millert). A study of the development of aesthetic taste in school children, conducted in the United States and France (Paul Mahotka). A study relating styles of conceptualization and personality characteristics (Aaron Süss Carton). And a number of projects of the seminar in prejudice, which he gives jointly with Messrs. Aronson, Pettigrew and Couch.

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Robert F. Bales has as his chief current work the project connected with Social Relations 120. In this course, students discuss case materials in hopes of better understanding interpersonal behavior. These discussions, in their turn, are a form of interpersonal behavior which Dr. Bales seeks to understand better. One section of that course meets in the "goldfish bowl" on the third floor of Emerson, where the discussions and their concomitants are recorded and coded in great detail.

Dr. Bales hopes that eventually his findings can be programmed into the "Interaction Simulator," a generalized computer-model that will represent -- and predict -- what happens between particular kinds of people when, and over what issues.

Leon D. Bramson is interested in the political context of sociology and particularly the influence on Sociology of 19th and 20th-century political and social theory. A great deal of his time and thought goes into Social Relations 10, the introductory course, whose conduct he oversees. In part this course is an experiment in education, based on the discovery that well-planned section meetings can have a higher impact on the student than mere lectures.

Arthur S. Couch is continuing research with H.A. Murray, working on computer routines that scan and code TATs for their thematic content. With Drs. Allport, Pettigrew and Levinson, he has started studying prejudiced behavior in interpersonal situations. They will be observing small groups built with certain personality characteristics. Dr. Couch is also developing some general statistical computer programs for the Department.

Erik H. Erikson, on leave this semester, is too reticent to say what he is doing.

George C. Homans (currently on leave) is preparing a volume of collected sociological essays for publication.

Richard D. Mann has as his chief experimental interest the content analysis of small-group interaction. He is using data from Bales' interaction-analysis class, as well as other data from therapy and training groups. He is also studying problems of housing discrimination in Boston, working with CORE the Congress on Racial Equality.

Norbert L. Mintz is currently doing several things. One is a continuing study of the behavior of puppies and kittens, designed to see if the characteristics of behavior we expect from dogs and cats is as innate as we think. Dr. Mintz is also studying the psychology of color: its perception, and its affective meaning. He is examining metaphorical and symbolic nature of color-symbolism, particularly in the memory and representation of fire and trees.

A third study is in the epidemiology of psychosis. Dr. Mintz is testing the theory that the well-known surplus of psychosis in the lower socio-economic strata is due to the minority composition of lower-class neighborhoods. Whereas such neighborhoods are usually dominated by an ethnic group other than mainstream American there is also usually another ethnic group in the area, itself in the minority in the neighborhood. Dr Mintz wonders if if is members of this group that become mentally ill.

Talcott Parsons, with co-editors Edward A. Shils, Kaspar D. Naegele and Jesse Pitts, has just wound up an anthology, Theories of Society, which will be published in late spring. With Winston White, Leon Mayhew and Jan Loubser, he has begun a book which they temporarily call American Society. This book will be an empirical treatment of American society, done in the light of the theory of social systems.

Thomas F. Pettigrew is particularly engrossed in studying, not altogether passively, the problems and processes of desegregating and getting rights for the American Negro. His current researches include studies of Negro registration and voting. Dr. Pettigrew is writing a book on desegregation.

David Riesman is currently wrapping up studies of sociability, hostliness and friendly behavior. His work here is in the tradition of Simmel, coded after the fashion of Bales. The data is from participant observation at parties.

Dr. Riesman also has a long-time interest in public-opinion studies. He has been lately studying the effect on interviews with teenagers of having old, middle-aged, and authoritarian interviewers.

Dr. Riesman is interested in college and academic culture. He is currently directing studies of the faculty at two "satellite" colleges in the Midwest: Monteith, an offshoot of Wayne State University, and Michigan State at Oakland. If the orientations and "career-lines" of these teachers are markedly different from those of their colleagues, it may have a great effect on the directions of American higher education.

Norman W. Storer will be working on "Political Power and the Values of Science" this summer, to study the reaction of science to its new position vis-a-vis society. He will interview prominent scientist-statesmen and working scientists to determine their view of the enhanced opportunities to gain political power as government advisors, and will examine the attitudes expressed in scientific publications. The research is supported jointly by the Science and Public Policy Program of the GSPA and the Laboratory of Social Relations.

Robert W. White declares modestly that his main work now is the "recasting of certain parts of the theory of personality."

Winston R. White is interested in American society. With Dr. Parsons, he is working to test out empirically the theory of social systems on data from American society.

Laurence Wylie is analyzing data from two French towns -- "Peyrance," as he called it in his first book, and Chanzeaux. The first is a small hilltop village in the Vaucluse mountains of southern France, the second a larger town in the north with more of a metropolitan character. Dr. Wylie also hopes to launch an interdisciplinary study project, sending interviewing teams to gather data about the changes that have taken place in French families in the last ten years.

C. C. Zimmerman is studying what he calls "creative families"; operationally, those who put their offspring through graduate, medical or law school; and he has data from universities around the country. (Interestingly, only 25% of such families have as much as one parent who went to college.) In a similar vein, Dr. Zimmerman is studying high school drop-outs, treating them as a problem of communicating ideals.

In addition, Dr. Zimmerman is investigating certain chemical procedures of reforestation.

Morton Prince House

Richard Alpert is engaged in a two-year study for the School Mathematics Group and National Science Foundation of attitudes and motives attendant upon mathematical education. He is particularly interested in the systematic application of acquired-drive theory to education. He is also involved in several other projects at Stanford: a two-volume work with Pauline Sears on personality correlates of "academic" behavior, from kindergarten to the eighth grade; with Robert Sears and Lucy Rau, a five-year experimental study of the Freudian theory of identification; and with Hatfield and Rau, experimental studies of mother-child interaction.

Lotte Bailyn is working with Dr. Kelman (on leave) in his study of attitude change in foreign students. The subjects are Scandinavian students studying in the United States. With survey data from the students, taken during their stay in this country and after they return home (if they do), it is hoped to learn more about their ideas of people. Both the student's self-image and his idea of others will be examined. This group is testing, among other things, Dr. Kelman's theory of social influence.

Frank Barron is conducting tests of creativity. Not interested merely in finding tests that will pick out highly creative people, but in learning what are the components of psychic behavior making for creativity, Dr. Barron conducts extensive tests of people who have been picked as the most creative by their fellow-professionals around the country. Above a certain level, intelligence and creativity are independent; and the more important variables seem associated with one's attitude to exotic and unusual states of consciousness.

Irving I. Gottesman is doing his main work in behavior genetics. Using the refined Galton method he compares the correlations between identical and fraternal twins on such tests as the MMPI, CPI, and adjective check lists. A greater correlation between monozygotic twins is then attributable to their biological resemblance. Right now Dr. Gottesman is engaged in rounding up same-sexed twin-pairs in Boston high schools.

In addition, he is writing (with Dr. Maher) a chapter on "bases of intelligent behavior" for a book probably entitled, Theory and Research in Mental Deficiency (ed. Norman Ellis). Dr. Gottesman reports further interests in the psychologies of instinct, imprinting and prenatal influence.

Donal Jones is studying expressive movement, possible ways of transcribing it, and the way it varies among different individuals. He has found, for example, that Labanotation (a means of putting dance motions on paper) can successfully communicate moods to people who see not the original dance but a new performance of it from the written record; and he has found clear differences in styles of movement between students at Bennington and students at Emmanuel College (Boston).

Dr. Jones is also engaged in a search for factors which will predict what Radcliffe students will do after they graduate. It seems that girls' intentions, announced some months before graduation, have much less relation to what the girls do than "family themes" and "family symbols" from their upbringing. Jones is also trying out styles of interviewing which (contrary to accepted practice) allow affect, personal and temporal idiosyncracy, and chance factors to run wild. In still another project, he is comparing people's "conceptions of reality," experiential and metaphorical, through the use of art-preference tests. Last, he is writing a textbook on measurement and statistical inference. The book will have a "problem" approach, omitting derivations and mathematical theory where they are irrelevant to practical research.

Timothy Leary is looking for new methods of changing behavior. Because the "doctor-patient" model of psychoanalysis in the past has required behavior that put patient and analyst in the roles of "client" and "professional." It has required verbal aptitude and an emphasis on what the patient says. Both these features make it inappropriate for working-class patients. For this reason Dr. Leary is trying out new styles and settings of psychotherapy in various groups -- for instance, in prison and after-prison groups. With an emphasis on behaviors, rather than words, and new group and collaborative situations, he hopes people can be contacted and helped who would otherwise be unapproachable.

It was Brendan Maher who, from an interest in the conflict theories of Miller and Brown, commissioned the great rat-run which so long stood near the Coke machine on the third floor of Emerson. With this he will perform a re-investigation of their work on approach and avoidance, hoping to make the theory better applicable to human behavior.

In Baton Rouge, La., Dr. Maher is investigating the effects of convulsive shock on patients' memories of the recent and far past. He is working with Dr. Leary on the "State Pen" project, and with Don Campbell at Northwestern in a study of the "completion" technique (developed at the Center for Study in Personality) for measuring hostility and anxiety. He is currently preparing a book on experimental psychopathology.

David C. McClelland is continuing studies in motivation. His new book, *The Achieving Society*, is scheduled for publication in September of this year. Through various methods, and inspired by today's problems of economic development, Dr. McClelland is studying motivational *change* -- "how to learn new motives when you're grown up." In another project he is studying the effect of social setting on fantasy. In another, investigating the relation of personality variables to business games, with attention to strategies of production and sales.

Walter Mischel is writing a book, tentatively called *Approach to Personality Assessment*, on the best techniques and roles to adopt in studying a person. He is also doing a study (for Dr. Kelman's forthcoming book, probably called *Images in International Behavior*) on the "images of self" held by Germans and Americans, by which they try to understand both themselves and Americans.

In another direction, Dr. Mischel is conducting delay-of-gratification studies. At the beginning of the study he dealt with children who had to decide between small candy-bars soon and big ones later; since then the study has broadened into different types of scaling and deferral. Among the points of interest he is examining in the children are personality correlates, family characteristics, and experience with promises.

Robert N. Rapoport has his principal interests in the study of socio-cultural organization and personality, and in the field of "applied" anthropology. Having completed two long-term projects in the field of social psychiatry(the Stirling County study of the epidemiology of mental disorders in a rural maritime province, and the Belmont Hospital study of social processes in a "therapeutic community,"), Dr. Rapoport is now engaged in a period of teaching and writing.

John Spiegel is working with Mrs. Kluckhohn on the structure and function of the family, and the effect on a family's mental climate of different time-orientations. The study in progress is examining the home life of past-oriented families (Italian-American), present-oriented families (Irish-American), and future-oriented families ("Yankee"). Evidently these orientations tie in with attitudes and values, determining the family's adaptation to each other and to outside challenges. Dr. Spiegel has also an interest in gesture and "body management," informal role theory, and the general topic of social psychiatry.

9 Bow Street

Elliot Aronson is interested in dissonance theory and self-consistency theory. With Richard Alpert and Ruth Munroe, he is investigating the effect of disconfirmed expectancies on hopes of mathematical performance. He is also cultivating an interest in bargaining strategies, a sort of "low-level gamesmanship." Dr. Aronson is interested in learning what strategies in bargaining and compromise are psychologically "best" for winning in the bargaining situation. He expects that one must take into account the length of the bargaining-session, the timing and size of concessions, the seeming validity of claims, and the selection of arguing-points.

Jerome Bruner has been studying the organization and re-organization of perception with a device called the Ambiguitor. It projects an out-of-focus image to the subject, and gradually comes into focus. One's quickness to see a picture right is affected by his previous hypotheses. How many, and how tough these hypotheses are is affected by one's habitual strategies and by the experimenter's instructions. (Feeble-minded children can do "as well" as normals by holding back their hypotheses.) Dr. Bruner is studying eye-movements as one key to these strategies.

David French is especially interested in ethnoscience, "the Anthropology of Knowledge." Ethnoscience is the study of how members of different cultures perceive and think about subjects which European culture relegates to science -- such as space, time, color and sickness. In publication are an article relating anthropology to perception and cognition (for Koch's Psychology, a Study of a Science, vol. 6), a paper on types of native taxonomic processes; and a review article on ethnoscience. Right now he is concentrating his attention on ethnobotany and concepts of time.

David Maybury-Lewis is interested in tribal organization, especially what he calls "dual organization," the permanent division of a tribe into two sections whose members may only marry members of the other section. Apparently"antithesizing," seeing the world in terms of analogical polarities, is a way of thinking deeply tied in with a two-group moiety system. His field work has been with the Sherente and Shavante tribes of Central Brazil, to which he hopes to return for further study.

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Man-Tran (*homo simulacrum.*)

This is the general idea of some of the things that Messrs. Bale Couch and Stone are doing.

With the fine hardware now available, all that is needed to make a machine act like a human being is a suitable program. In this Department, a full-scale attempt is being made to get such program. First, a category-system for scoring interaction was built; then, psychological and value tests were devised that plu the factors bearing on group interaction; now, the work is conce trating on suitable measurings and orderings of what people say. The groups under study talk about human relations, and the words themselves are coded as items of interaction. A simple program for the IBM 709 scans the written record, and prints out a "news sheet" of unusual happenings, as detected by the statistics of quality control. At best this tells the experimenters what sort of things to look for next, but not much more.

Much more is expected, though, from the developing program. Eventually the machine will have the following characteristics as hypothesized by the research group:

1. Each individual being simulated will have continuously growing amounts of Anxiety, Social Warmth, Aggression, and Conformity. The things he does will be dtermined by whichever of these is currently topmost; and the things he does will tend to reduce these tensions in various proportions.
2. Each individual in the machine will think fast or slowl about the on-going social situation, in proportion (as a first a proximation) to intelligence. The speed of thinking will effect the amount of press, and the skill, that bear on the individual' next move.
3. Each individual will think about the statements and mov of the others, and react. Depending on the amount of aggression he has built up, he will either wait his turn or interrupt the part of the program that is speaking.

The better the program gets, of course, the better it will be able to predict the actuall small-group behavior of the peopl who are fed into the machine. These, fortunately, are never wholly consumed in the process.

Research Reports.

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Reining Cats and Dogs

This magazine could not get through a year without some description of Norbett L. Mintz' (and others') work with puppies and kittens. We are merely summarizing the work as he described it in the Lab Bulletin of May 1959, with his assurance that it is not obsolete.

There are well-known differences between dogs and cats. Dogs are bumptious, enthusiastic and affectionate; cats are sly, aloof and cynical. We tend to think of this as ingrained. However, researchers experimenting with avoidance learning and superego development in dogs were struck by the intractability of overindulged pups. Two puppies were let run wild in the experimenters' homes, treated very affectionately, and not house-trained; two of their siblings were brought up in other households, as normal dogs. At the age of ten weeks they were all tested in a temptation situation. The hungry dog would enter a room and find the experimenter sitting between a bowl of milk and a bowl of meat. The latter is far more tempting; but if the puppy ate the meat he would be slapped, and if he drank the milk he would be petted.

After several days of this, the dogs would go straight to the milk and drink. Now the experimenter hastened from the room and peeked through a one-way mirror. How long would the dog stay away from the meat? The socialized dogs both learned not to touch the meat after a few trials, finding that the experimenter would return to the room and swat them if they ate it. The indulged dogs, by contrast, were incorrigible; and indeed, got to the meat in more and more of a hurry as the trials progressed, perhaps because that way they could eat more before the experimenter got back.

The indulged dogs, not wanted by the experimenters, were given away, but made very unsatisfactory pets -- impulsive, fickle, untrainable. In sum, catlike. And this suggested that comparison tests be run -- for what would be more revealing than that kittens could grow up like the stereotyped dog, and puppies like the typical cat?

A three-day-old kitten was acquired and treated like a dog. Now, cats do not need toilet-training, so that an analogous prohibition had to be found. At the age (3 to 4 weeks) that puppies are usually toilet-trained, the kitten was forbidden to run into one room of the house, and to extend its claws while at the bottle. The prohibitions were enforced until the kitten was 11 weeks old.

Now the kitten was tested like the puppies in the first series. After two trials alone with taboo food, he stayed away from it for a whole hour. In addition, his behavior at home was far more malleable: he could be trusted alone in the house for hours on end, and even after a year and a half of age he could learn new prohibitions with some ease.

A further experiment was now tried on wild kittens. The wild cat, it should be noted, is about as unindulgent with its young as the experimenter had been with the kitten above. This being so, cats reared wild should be the more easily domesticable, and on their domestication, should be more warm and loyal.

There were three wild kittens in the woods, guarded by a fierce mother. One day, when the kittens were six weeks old and the mother was away hunting, one kitten was captured. A week later, the next was taken. A week later, the third. They were all treated gently awhile. Then the first was trained hard, the second not at all, the third mildly. Now, "8 weeks" has a theoretical content: it has been found at the Jackson Behavior Laboratories in Maine that the critical socialization period for cats and dogs ends at 8 weeks. By hypothesis, all the caught cats should be more tractable than ordinary housecats. The male, raised wild and then obedience trained, should be most like a normal dog; the middle cat should be more like a regular cat, but able to learn; and the one caught last, but then obedience trained, should have role conflict. (Should she have matured in the wild, she could then have taken the new prohibitions in stride; she is coming now to the human situation at an awkward age, and receiving unaccustomed indulgence when least ready.)

At three months all cats were taught not to eat either milk or meat, as the experimenter should command. Care was taken that they should not learn position, or a particular food to avoid.

Now they went to the laboratory one-way room, for a twelve-day series of tests. The cat, hungry, came into a room with a choice of milk and meat. On drinking the milk and approaching the meat, he was told "no" and spanked, and given more milk. Then the experimenter left the room. If the cat stayed away from the meat for a full fifteen minutes, he was returned to and played with; if he went to the meat he got punished by the experimenter immediately. This was done again directly, but only for a ten-minute wait (if the cat held out), and once more for five. Each time he would be punished right away if he broke the taboo.

For six days, milk was the permissible food and meat the taboo; then they were switched for six days more. All the while their positions were being changed around to avoid that's confusing the experiment.

At the age of five months another test series was administered (series two) and one more at seven (series three). (Meanwhile, they were treated like ordinary house-cats.) These later series were each six days, with taboos alternating.

In these tests, the male, first captured, got the idea immediately, with his sister of two weeks' later capture and some training close behind. By the end of these trials, there were almost no infractions, but the middle cat -- untrained -- improved enormously and had the only perfect score (on series three).

In "social" trials -- where all three were left hungry with the two foods -- it was the eight-week trained cat who was the worst offender. She often initiated infractions, and almost always tagged along when another did (on these trials, the experimenter delayed thirty seconds before entering to punish). Best behaved was the male, and in between, the untrained, 7-week female.

Evidently the 6-week, trained male had 'internalized' the prohibitions. He would avoid breaking the taboo by exploring, playing, or resting. When the experimenter entered the room to punish him he would stop eating at once, and either go away or come toward the experimenter to be punished; or sit still, hanging his head, waiting to receive the blow.

The eight-week trained female had not internalized the prohibitions. She would avoid breaking the prohibitions by sleeping; and if she woke up, she would often go and eat right away. Never did she approach the experimenter if punishment was due.

The seven-week, untrained female was in between. To avoid breaking the taboo she would stalk the room and cry. The experimenter's punishment frightened her, since it was so new, but eventually she, like the male, came to the experimenter or acquiesced to her punishment, if any.

It remains to be asked why people bring up animals as they do, so that cats become catlike and dogs like dogs. One likely explanation is in the "demand qualities" of the infant dogs and cats -- expressions and gestures which automatically evoke responses from people which will in return build up the personality characteristics of the infant animal, just as the outstretched arms of a smiling infant human will bring the sourest adult toward it. The human example should remind us that these principles may apply above the floor level.

Tall People Build Round Houses

This sorites is from conjectures, all somewhat supported by evidence which Dr. John Whiting relates with relish. However, this is not in his own words, nor is it to be surmised that he would offer it as an actual theory at this time.

Infant mammals (rats, puppies, babies) which are provoked and maltreated in infancy grow up bigger and stronger.

Men who spend their infancy in the sole company of their mothers have a greater problem of cross-sex identification.

Women like round things.

Polygynous societies leave child-rearing to mother-child units.

There is more aggression in polygynous societies.

Therefore, tall people build round houses.

"Ordinal position and the Oedipus complex"

In the process of rearing two sons, I have been interested to observe the differences between the older and the younger. The older, now $4\frac{1}{2}$, seems to be entering the oedipal phase on schedule -- proposing marriage to his mother and being alternately hostile and affectionate towards me. "Daddy, I'm going to hit you!" may be followed within 60 seconds by a friendly offer to show me what he has built with his blocks.

What is of more interest, however, is that the younger boy (aged $2\frac{1}{2}$) is coming to imitate this behavior. "Daddy, I donna hit 'oo!" he will repeat. The difference is that for the older boy the antagonism is genuine, growing out of inner conflicts; for the younger, there is no corresponding internal need for this behavior.

Having been aware for some time that ordinal position (that is, birth-rank in the family) is correlated with certain personality characteristics, I was struck by my younger son's facility in copying his big brother's behavior in this area. Might this not have some implications for the severity of the younger's oedipal problems and how they will be resolved, and could this aspect of ordinal position be partly responsible for the differences noted between elder and younger children? Some materials now in the literature, plus certain data of my own, lend support to this idea.

Stanley Schachter, in The Psychology of Affiliation (Stanford, 1959), presents a number of findings from different studies which support his own arguments concerning the relationship between ordinal position and one's need for "affiliation" under stress. Schachter finds that first-born children are significantly more likely to want to be with others when in anxiety-producing situations than are later-born children. One reason for this, he suggests, may lie in the tendency for parents to pay closer attention to the first-born child's needs and to take care of them more promptly than they do with later-born children. The first-born is thus more likely to associate the resolution of tension with the presence of others and to act on this premise in later life.

Discussion section

Ordinal position and the Oedipus complex.
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Doctrine, Hurt Feelings and Seduction.
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Schachter citesthe major findings from five other studies which also appear to support this hypothesis:

1. First-born are less likely to become alcoholics;

2. First-born are more likely to seek psychotherapy for help with personal problems, and to stick with it for a longer period;

3. First-born make poorer fighter pilots (based on a study of Korean War aces and non-aces);

4. First-born children in a kindergarten showed significantly more dependence upon adults; and

5. First-born are more likely to be conformists -- to change opinions in the direction of those of the group.

The first two studies appear to give particularly solid support to Schachter's hypothesis, and nothing in the others can be said to contradict it.

One other characteristic of the first-born which can be derived with equally valid reasoning from Schachter's hypothesis, though, is that the first-born should be more affective, more interested in the immediate resolution of tensions. But this would seem to go against the widely-accepted fact that first-born children tend to delay gratification and to have generally higher need-achievement characteristics.

An alternative hypothesis is that these differences between first-born and later-born children (males, at any rate) are due to differences in the type of superego that develops out of the oedipal conflict. Briefly, we might reason that the first-born, facing the conflict entirely by himself and being without experience as to what to expect from the father in the way of retaliation, will experience a more severe conflict and that the superego emerging from this period might typically be more "harsh" and perhaps also more capricious. Schachter notes that Sears, Maccoby, and Levin found that the first-born's treatment by the parents is usually less consistent than that accorded later-born children, giving some support to the "capriciousness" idea.

The later-born child, on the other hand, has learned through imitation to express anti-father sentiments earlier, he has the opportunity to see how father reacts to the hostility of his older siblings, and he is given more consistent treatment. His superego may be expected to be somewhat more "reasonable" then, and he can more easily get along with it. With a reasonable superego, one should be able to feel that one's performance is adequate, since the internal standards are both more consistent and not impossibly high. The first-born, with a superego whose standards are too stern or are untrustworthy, will be less able to reward himself; this might well explain the tendency to delay gratification (or sense of completion) for longer periods.

Further, in an anxiety producing situation -- in which one is unable to decide what to do in the face of a vague threat -- the individual with an excessively stern superego might be expected to seek an external authority which may be substituted for the superego as a source of directions, rewards, and/or punishments. If this argument has any validity, we would expect to find that the first-born male will have a tendency to focus his attention more upon authority figures, to be wary of assuming his own performance to be "good" without external confirmation , and perhaps to be somewhat less at ease with others in general because of his difficulty in being sure of his own performance.

If this distinction is to be expressed in a single phrase, it would revolve on the matter of self-sufficiency, or the ability to reward oneself for good performance. By the reasoning presented above, we would conclude that the later-born is more self-sufficient than is the first-born, probably more so among males than among females although since the superego develops through a similar process in females we should find something of the same difference among females.

The five findings given above seem also to support this reasoning. In the first study it was the later-born who were more likely to turn to alcohol to resolve tensions, something which indicates both self-sufficiency (albeit unhealthy) and a greater affectivity (or disinclination to delay gratification). Similarly, the first-born's greater likelihood ofseeking and sticking to psychotherapy may be interpreted in this light. If later-born children are more self-sufficient they would be likely to make better fighter pilots through being less cautious and more able to devote themselves completely to the job at hand. The fourth finding concerns children between 4 and 6, a period before the superego has developed; here, though, the boys were the only ones to show a significant relationship between dependency and ordinal position -- and if the adults concerned were women (they were teachers, so it is highly likely), this might well be explained on the basis of the sex of the love-object rather than by ordinal position.

Finally, the tendency for first-born to be more conformist is again in line with the idea that they are less self-sufficient.

Data collected during the course of a study I conducted on the research orientations of scientists provide some further support for this interpretation. The subjects were 49 Ph.D.'s working in agricultural research. A lengthy, self=administered questionnaire is the source of data; one question asked the respondent to give the sex and the age relative to him of his sibs. The responses to this item give us our independent variable.

Since the posited independent variable here concerns the development of the superego, we must divide our respondents into three groups. First there are the 19 men who are the eldest (or only) children, making up the "EC" group. These men, we propose, will have had the most difficult oedipal phase and thus the most harsh superegos. Then there are 10 men who were the eldest male children but who had one or more older sisters -- the "OS" group. These men will have had the benefit of more consistent treatment by their parents but still, as elder males, will have had some

difficulty in relations with the father. Finally, there are the 20 men who had older brothers, the "OB" group. These are the men we would predict to be most self-sufficient and least likely to be burdened with an overly-stern superego.

These groups do differ somewhat by age and according to other correlates of age, but not to the extent that this influences the findings to be reported below. Fifty-three percent of the "EC" group, 70% of the "OS" and 45% of the "OB" group are over 40; if these differences had anything to do with the data reported, we would expect the "OS" group to be highest or lowest on various items. As the table below shows, however, they are nearly always midway between the two other groups.

The data to be used pertain to two major areas: the ability to be satisfied with one's work (supposed here to be related to having a reasonable superego), and one's relations with others. Of three items which relate to the former area, all give a progression of differences in the expected direction; of four in the latter area, three change in the expected direction.

For purposes of economy, all seven items will be given below, with the meanings of the individual questions being treated in more detail later.

Item	EC	N	OS	N	OB	N
1. Reach peak-of-interest in research before analysis is completed.	22%	(18)	50%	(10)	60%	(20)
2. Prefer detailed knowledge of one field rather than general knowledge of many.	32%	(19)	50%	(10)	63%	(19)
3. Produced 2.6 papers per year or more since Ph.D.	26%	(19)	30%	(10)	63%	(19)
4. Report that having guidance and leadership from superior is highly important.	53%	(17)	67%	(9)	32%	(19)
5. Report that own work requires the cooperation of others.	72%	(18)	60%	(10)	40%	(20)
6. Report that the presence of "congenial people" is a very important aspect of one's job.	33%	(18)	50%	(10)	60%	(20)
7. Report having had six or more "close co-workers" in the last three years.	42%	(19)	50%	(10)	70%	(20)

The first item seems to ~~tap the area of~~ one's ability to decide for himself whether his work is satisfactory. The respondents were asked to identify the point in the research process where their interest reached a "peak," ranging from "When I have figured out just how to do it," to "When I know that others are using my findings." Those who indicated that their peak-of-interest comes before the conclusions have been worked out are considered to have an "early" peak; as one man said, "It comes when I first see that my hunch is going to pay off." The more easily one may rely on his own internalized standards of goodness, the more likely he is to report an early peak-of-interest. Since we have proposed that a "reasonable" superego enables one to rely more readily on these standards, the differences between the three groups here are in line with our expectations.

The second item seems to reveal a greater ability to concentrate on the part of those men who have elder brothers. This seems to be an aspect of commitment, of a kind of affectivity growing out of the ability to say "Yes, this is what I want -- I have decided." We might assume that those who tend more to delay gratification will be less likely to commit themselves in this way, so that again the differences are in the predicted direction.

The third item is based upon the respondent's own report of how many papers he has published, singly and jointly. If a tendency to delay gratification might make a man more reluctant to submit a paper because he is not yet satisfied with it, we would expect that those men who have fewer impulses to delay will in fact publish more frequently, and this seems to be the case.

For the first major area, then -- one's ability to be cognitively self-sufficient and not too prone to delay gratification -- the initial hypothesis seems to be supported by the data. Other hypotheses would serve to explain the differences between the "EC" group and the "OB" group, but the fact that the "OS" group consistently falls midway between these two appears to make more meaningful the idea that the sex of one's elder sibs is important, and thus that the development of the superego may lie at the root of these differences.

In the second area, the findings again support this hypothesis. It was proposed that if one has an excessively harsh superego he will be more likely to seek an external authority as a substitute that can be more easily dealt with. We would therefore predict that the "EC" group would be most likely to focus upon relations with authority-figures; the fourth item bears out this prediction, although the "OS" group comes out slightly higher than the "EC's."

The idea of self-sufficiency enters again with the fifth item. The "OB" group is considerably less likely to report that their work requires the cooperation of others, as we would expect. Further, when compared with the sixth item, it appears that the "EC" group is rather ambivalent about other people. They seem to feel that others are important in an instrumental sense, but have much less interest in outgoing or close relationships with others at their work. The "OB" group on the other hand seems more likely

to want to like others even though they are not necessary for the conduct of their work.

The last item seems to demonstrate that the opinions expressed in answer to the sixth item have their counterparts in actual behavior. The "EC" group is apparently either the least willing to admit having had close work-relationships or else actually had fewer than the "OS" and the "OB" groups. Again the difference between the "EC" and the "OB" groups is emphasized: the "EC" group feels the need of help from others, and yet does not accept it; the "OB" group feels more self-sufficient and at the same time enjoys a greater range of friendships in the work situation.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that despite the small number of cases involved, the consistency of differences among the three groups provides grounds for supposing that the "differential superego-development" theory deserves further exploration as a possible explanation of the way in which ordinal position influences personality characteristics.

Doctrine, Hurt Feelings and Seduction

This is an account of some trials of an experimental technique that I believe is exogenous to social psychology. I refer to the experimental *game*. Gaming, long used to simulate war and business, has lately come of interest in the area of Social Relations. My research, if it may be called that yet, was inspired directly by the current research of Professor T. C. Schelling, as described in his offset handout, "An Experimental Game for the Study of Bargaining" (Center for International Affairs, Harvard, 1960). The various theoretical rationales which will be disclosed here only in the most niggardly fashion are based on Schelling's theory of strategy and bargaining (T.C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, Harvard, 1960) and a pastiche of my own interests. I am out to study mechanistically the fine-grain structure of situations, obliterating or suppressing the effects of personality or motivational variables (such as the embedded motivations from depth psychology).

Schelling's theory, brusquely stated, is this: Many dealings between people or organizations are neither wholly cooperative nor wholly antagonistic. Because to some extent the actors may win or lose together, they may be able best to serve their ends by cooperating. Still, because of the possible advantages of treachery and blackmail, it may be important for one actor to show the other through his *actions* that he will collaborate reliably. And because often, as in war and business, direct communication is unreliable or impossible, a great deal of bargaining must take place through actions.

Hence a prime concern of the actor is communicating his wants, and another is *authentication*. Making the other believe that you mean a threat or promise may tell him it is worth his while to help out. *Commitment* is restriction of your own actions which, if effectively gotten across, may force the other fellow.

Schelling's own game, roughly, is this: two "opponents" cannot see each other, but see a map in common. When the game begins, each player is given a special information-sheet telling him *what he will be paid* if he has captured a certain state, on the map, by the end of the game. The players take turns, and may make moves which, with greater or less emphasis, claim states, in the knowledge that an unsuccessful claim costs money in proportion to its strength. A player may make a "punishing" move, wantonly docking his opponent a certain amount of money. The game ends when the players each decide they cannot gain from doing anything more.

Now let me name some topics.

1) Gesture systems. Ray L. Birdwhistell, in his *Introduction to Kinetics* (University of Louisville Press, 1952), has implicitly hypothesized that not only are gestures and expressio highly conventional, but that there is a discrete number of form classes to which all such actions may be usefully assigned.

2) Personal interlock. If you think of people as prickly, complicated objects, you may have noticed that in their close relationships they set up intricate inter-causal sequences. The malfunctioning or felicity of a relationship may because of this intricacy have a number of accidental causes. This is interesting. Edward T. Hall, in The Silent Language (Doubleday, 1959) sees outside factors as contributing to the bad fit of Americans with foreigners. We get along badly because of things "accidental" to the situation -- say, the accustomed distances between people, in feet, make us think Latins pushy and them think us cold.

3) Interaction logic. Some things are always seen in everyday behavior, some never seen, some optional -- they may be shown at the discretion of a participant: campaign buttons, titles of books being read, kissing. There is then a complicated feedback: what conclusions might an observer draw, and what will the effect of such possible conclusions be on the actor? What things will be avoided, what done deliberately? How does the availability of alternative explanations affect things? (Professor Schelling has pointed out to me that dogs, mistaking you first for a prowler, will rush out barking, then continue rushing past you as if after something else entirely.) Dogs are less subtle about this than people.

Commitment, too, hangs both on available opportunities and others' opinion. How does the possibility of commitment affect the situation? I am impressed by how in The Sun Also Rises, and things of that ilk, the characters are unable to find dignity because their friends have no respect for the commitments they try to make, and so they can make none.

4) The philosophy of primary messages. When, and to what extent, will people's attempts to communicate their wants polarize into a simple Ouch and Ahh? What properties of the situation will bring in more subtle distinctions? Physiognomic devices have peculiar limitations in the breadth of expression. they permit. What are they?

5) Bargaining-mechanisms (commitment, threat, hinting and punishment) on the interpersonal level. To what extent does "fate control" (see Thibaut and Kelley, The Social Psychology of Groups, Wiley, 1959) make for comfortable or uncomfortable relations? Psychoanalysts and others often suggest that good relations come from understanding and kindly disposition. Others, like me more impressed by the Realpolitik view that enticements and prods allow people to keep each other in line, would expect that good interpersonal relations can be better built by giving people more control over each other (with incentives) and more subtle ways of expressing preference.

A point of sociological relevance is that among many people, particularly middle-class people close to one another, outright threats are forbidden by the ideology of sentiment; hence threats become more subtle, like showing one's own unhappiness, which at

the very least may suggest the evening will be spoiled; or acting in a way that seems more self-hurtful than hurtful of others, but will move these others to some desired action.

6) Coherent presentations. What pictures of himself can a man sensibly present, and what ones look fishy, making other people untrusting and uneasy? Largely this is a matter of usual expectations, which may change by convention or by change in a society's modal personalities. Partly it is a function of people's Ur-Soc-Rel, naive theories of what personalities are shifty and what sincere.

7) The properties of interpersonal communications systems. If you close your eyes (thereby conveying some message), the other can no longer gesture. If you show anger, a form of disapproval, you cannot directly show solicitousness, a form of approval, without some intervening state -- an apology or cooling off period. This is partly a function of coherence, as in (6), and partly it comes from social elaboration of the natural emotional processes in signalling. It may be profitable to treat emotional behavior in highly self-conscious beings as entirely an output of bargaining and signalling precesses, built onto the natural behavior but with that dried up and gone away.

8) Sequences of behavior under committed beliefs. This could apply both to actors who have a certain ideological position to defend against others, or to a single actor, alone with himself, who has the problem of reconciling beliefs that seem to conflict.

Game simulation has several advantages. You can imbue the players with motivation to do very different things; you can structure the available alternatives; you can distribute the choices among several centers of independent decision; you can code what is done most exactly; you can build situations from the ground up, and expect people to do their level best. In all my games, the players were told at the beginning what they would receive points for, with the understanding that there would be a prize at the end for him with the most points. In two of the games neither knew at the outset the other's payoff-function, and rarely were both players to receive points for the same thing.

Doctrine, my first game, has four players. Two, the "proposers," are assigned to talk as much and as fast as possible with one another. Each is handed at the outset a couple of sentences that constitute his "doctrine," and which he must defend. Samples: "Love makes the world go round," "What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country." For each new sentence the proposer utters which agrees with or augments his doctrine, he receives several points. In addition, he is directed to "agree" or "disagree," meaning that he will be given points for each sentence which augments (or denigrates, respectively) what the other proposer says. Every sentence that

inadvertently contradicts his doctrine, or agrees where it should disagree, means points docked.

The rewards and punishments are not automatic, however. They are administered by the other two players, the "disposers." Each minds his own proposer, judges the proposer's output according to the payoff-sheet, and signals to the proposer how well he is doing. The proposer is hence aware how well he is satisfying the payoff-function, as the disposer interprets it. (In actual play, the disposers came to cry such phrases as "Hear, hear!" or "Ole!" after a good sally, and "In a pig's eye!" when the proposer goofed. These seemed evidence of a healthy enthusiasm, and were encouraged.)

In Hurt Feelings, the second game, there is a board, and both players can see it. Each is handed a payoff-sheet at the beginning which tells him what he will be rewarded for. His rewards are administered entirely by the other person in his moves on the board; but the other person cannot see him or speak with him, let alone know when the moves give pleasure or pain -- as measured in points or money. Certain communications are allowed, however: each player may communicate by speech or facial expression. But there are only a few lines and facial expressions permitted, and they are spoken aloud, or presented as pictures to the other player, by an intermediary who travels between the two and moves the pieces around. The expressive content of the lines spoken, and the expressions of the faces in the pictures, may be varied by the Experimenter to study their use.

Thus the player must with limited tools make known his wishes; and enforce them on a non-altruistic opponent by not rewarding him, except in trade.

Seduction is quite like "Hurt Feelings," though less general. There are two players, called "Boy" and "Girl," irrespectively. Neither sees the other or knows who he is. (Ideally. In the heat of play participants sometimes bypass the intermediary and say the lines themselves. Under more disciplined circumstances, of course, this can be prevented.) There are three kinds of moves: chips, lines, and board moves. The chip is a token, like a poker chip, which is tossed near the other person and gives him a few points. There are ten lines, as follows:

Girl. No.
Are you sure?
I want to, but...
How can I be sure?
Darling!

Boy. It's perfectly all right.
Please.
You'll be glad.
I love you.
Darling.

And there are eleven moves on the board. "Boy's" are called 1, 2, 3, 4 and ATTACK; "Girl's" are called SLAP, 1, 2, 3, 4, and BINGO. Each player is informed of his payoffs by the payoff-sheet he gets at the beginning, and learns the other's payoffs only from play. No explanation or interpretation is given beyond the rules of play and the payoff-functions.

These games were all played one night by about a dozen people who were, at the outset, my friends. Coordination being difficult, the people did not circulate very well through the games, and not all protocols were received in good order. For this reason the results must be called scanty and anecdotal, but should lead to more playable versions with the deficiences of the old reformed; as well as to new families of games which follow out some of the trends of these.

First, of course, we might want to look at the meaning of this inquiry. What do these games show? There is nothing very concrete to report here, but let me scuffle with the question.

Doctrine presents a rational being with a situation where he must manipulate ideas for reward in tortuous ways, defending an entrenched and fortified position. In this regard he resembles any committee casuist: a diplomat putting a brave face on his country's stand; a courtroom lawyer; a political dialectician who must make the country's old doctrine seem to gibe with the exigencies of current politics. Of interest are his strategies and style, the effect of the disposer's feedback, and the structure of his logical progressions, if any. The raw situation is one of man, motivation and ideas, happily (to my mind) stripped of affect and character variables, e.g., Authoritarianism.

Note also that this may be construed as a model of conceptual thinking, especially of how we generate "satisfactory" thoughts (and it points up the possibility of using players in a game simulation to mimic different entities under one head. This possibility might interest some psychoanalytic schools.)

Hurt Feelings is in some ways the generalized interpersonal case. The game resembles any situations where something -- like politeness, embarrassment, vulnerability, pride -- prevents your saying outright what you want. That the subject-matter of the interaction resides on a board doubtless would seem one of its more unreal features. However, the idea is to place the gratifications off where they can be "discussed" by the participants - who must communicate to one another in a crabbed model of real ways.

I had hoped, as a bench mark, to generate the "hurt feelings effect" (where you say your feelings aren't hurt but show clearly, as by your expression, that they are; where you are constrained from real anger or retaliation, and must limit your disgruntlement to lesser outlets.) Unfortunately, these first runs were of a most unsubtle kind, and on combing the data I found no such thing.

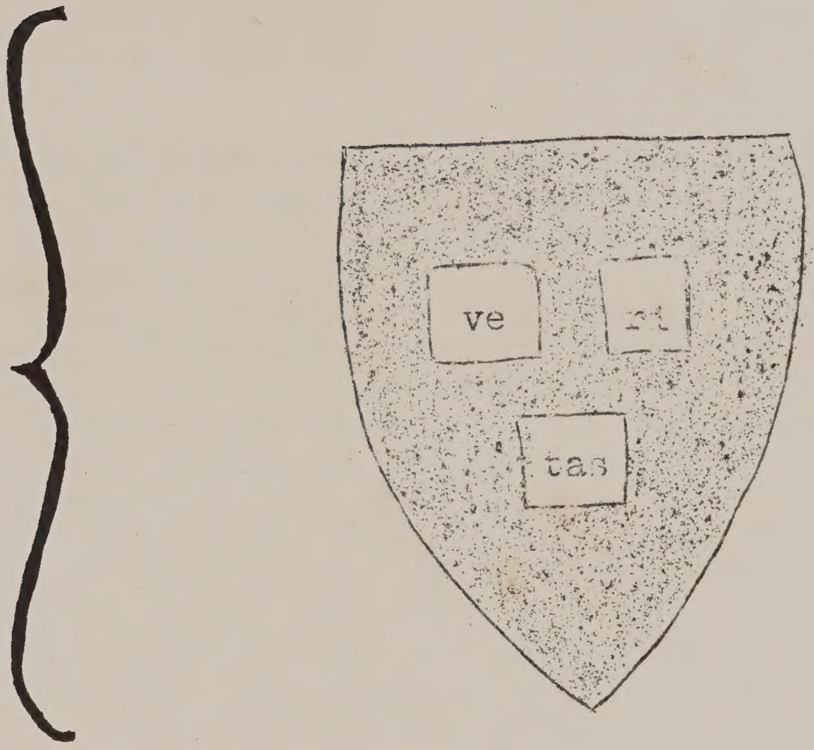
Seduction was the game everyone wanted to play, but some did a lot better than others. Why? In these runs the experimenter played along with what everybody expected, i.e., the "boys" were mainly after one thing. Hence coordination, in Schelling's sense, was unusually simple. It was only in the games where BINGO dealt Girl a heavy loss that Girl and Boy did not cooperate very well. I am sure that nobody who has heard excited players crying, "BINGO!" "I love you!" "BINGO!" "I love you!" "BINGO!" "I love you!" can deny that these games have a certain element of realism.

Two of the games have since been streamlined, and wider and better ones are sketched for the future. In the meantime, the results are suggestive, and a good time was had by all.

Harvard Lab Bulletin #1, Edited by TW,
Dec 1960

Laboratory of Social Relations

BULLETIN



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1960-1; 1.

EMERSON HALL,
HARVARD U.

Notes on notes.

In accordance with tradition, the first number is comin out late. Traditional also is the general idea that the Lab Bulletin should be informal and easily penetrated, both by reader and contributor.

If the reader wonders what the Lab Bulletin is, so does its editor. There was none last year, and the precedents ar open-ended. Luckily there are only two conceivable function the Lab Bulletin can serve. First, manifestly, it can publish notes on doings at the Laboratory of Social Relations. (The Laboratory is the secular arm, as it were, of the Department. The people and capital goods are almost indistinguishable.) This noting of the Laboratory has been done nicely in the past, and despite a slow start we will plug away in the grand little old tradition.

Second, the Lab Bulletin can publish other things of interest. That would probably be fun, but if so, what? What things?

It would be possible to put out a student journal, but this idea I find slightly parching. Toy journals becom small big ones, with manuscript criticism. Every article gets to be a sonata of problem and modest design, findings

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Laboratory of Social Relations BULLETIN: X, 1 (December, 1960.)
Theodor H. Nelson, editor. Mrs. Elizabeth Burnham and Mrs. Mary
Hennedy, associates.

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This is an intramural bulletin, and its contents are not "publish
Please do not cite these second-hand research reports without che

and further proposals.

I hereby decree a Discussion Section. This will be a place for informal writings: the thoughts behind or before research, whether effulgent, vague or preliminary. Mappings-out, as in the sand before a guerrilla attack. Perhaps this section will provide a theater for new imaginations or technical chat, like the often-proposed "Journal of Informal Sociology," or a shadow of the old Explorations. There are those of us to whom many words, ordered as clearly as possible, are reassuring and grassy underfoot.

In this issue there are two short articles on the relation of ordinary language and social theory. In the three or four issues to come, perhaps we can find thoughts on kinds of a priori theory, general models and systems, social theories of God, or simpler topics. True, this is a laboratory bulletin, but many of the Laboratory's labors are conceptual. So like the Department, which prefers to weed out beforehand, we will assume that ideas which reach us are intrinsically worthwhile. Hence they can find their rightful test, if called for, elsewhere and in sweet time. This is a private bulletin. We are like elves in a glade; no one need hear us here.

Let me explain my vision; fortunately I have one. I say "fortunately" because any endeavor which lacks a visionary element is just a little dead.

The retreat of the Liberal Arts did not begin when Philosophy and Psychology were divorced in Emerson Hall. The trend dates back perhaps to the first Political Economists, or the introduction of algebra to Europe--anyway, a gentleman no longer knows everything. Today the process continues: many old Liberal-Arts things are gradually sloughing from the World's Cultural Heritage toward one or the other quantitative subject. Stylistics, thematics, political theory are being unwound into new baskets. The topics of greatest complexity and interest--up to and including, I expect, the nature of the human soul--are going that way. What will be left? Or will the center dry up, so the uninitiated know nothing?

Actually there are certain things nearly everyone knows. They concern the nature of man, both man among men and man secret. This is that certain intuitive faculty that hyper-empiricists laugh at. Such people lack it, or will not trust it. On the other hand, people in the arts, and some humanities, demonstrably have this faculty but trust it to death. And then there are the in-between people, very intuitive but unable to bask and appreciate. Their intuition rather keeps assuming a propositional form, their insights tend to take on a maching order.

It may be that the tasks of social science seem more urgent to such a person, who sees this work as a codification of things he has 'understood,' in fragments, a long time. He is trying to see more clearly the world he lives in, and if parts of this vision are still a clutter in his mind, he wants all the harder to make it precise.

The hyper-empiricist, by contrast, does not have or trust these basic understandings. A tabula rasa, he actively expects that just anything could turn out to be so. Empirical findings could reveal that everybody is basically hostile, or nobody is, or that people never communicate or think or love each other; or that these descriptions are in some way illicit. This fellow-- I here sleight the correlations and scaling-methods that have distracted him--thinks that sensitive and intelligent people could have been wrong all along about human nature. This is something like the Green Cheese Theory of Lunar Composition. Is it scientific?

There is nothing so special about scientific method. People who have ideas are always testing them, and "empirical" work merely enforces certain checks and continuities. To any of us but this fictionalized hyper-empiricist, a thing's intuitive make-sense is more important for our credence than the apparatus of validation. No matter how much these paraphernalia may count in professional "front," who can believe something that will not square with what he has known long and well?

End of vision. To try to say where it applies, and where it does not, is out of keeping. Right now I wish to be more pellucid than specific, in hope of the reader's spiritual interest and material contribution.

A Letter from the Director

December, 1960

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

With this issue the Bulletin of the Laboratory of Social Relations appears again upon the scene after a considerable period of silence. Many things have happened since the last issue--so many that our new Editor, Mr. Theodor Nelson, and I have decided to devote most of this issue to news and information about the laboratory as an organization--what it is, who its members are, and how it works.

As nearly all of our readers will know, Professor Samuel Stouffer, the former Director of the Laboratory of Social Relations, died unexpectedly and after only a short illness, in New York, August 24, 1960. Only a few weeks previously the death of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn had left us stunned and dismayed. Professor Kluckhohn had been until this last July 1 a member of the Executive Committee of the Laboratory, and was identified with it from the first.

On that same date, July 1, 1960, Professor Stouffer formally completed his term as Director of the Laboratory. At that time he was enthusiastically preparing for a trip to the Far East to study problems of population and I entered upon the Directorship in the confident expectation that he would be available for advice and council upon his return. This comfortable assurance is now sadly withdrawn.

The Laboratory was, and is, so much a natural creation and expression of our colleague, mentor, and friend, Sam Stouffer, that I suppose many of us felt as I did--that we neither wanted nor needed to distinguish the organization from the man. For me, the Laboratory stands as a monument to Samuel Stouffer, a living organization dedicated to the scientific ideals and services which he so perfectly exemplified. He was the principal architect of the Laboratory, and its Director from its founding, as a twin organization to the Department of Social Relations, in 1946. His untimely death was a profound shock to all of us and a grievous loss to the scientific community.

On the Laboratory

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Not only has the Laboratory suffered these critical losses but others as well. The Associate Director, Professor Richard Solomon, left Harvard on July 1 to take a position of active research and teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, to the extreme regret of all his Harvard colleagues, but with their hearty best wishes. Professor Solomon served as Associate Director of the Laboratory from its beginning. Mrs. Shirley Atkinson, the Secretary of the Laboratory and the indispensible administrative complement to Professor Stouffer for the whole period of the Laboratory's existence, took leave on July 1 for a vacation trip around the world. All of her hosts of friends at Harvard wish her a refreshing and exciting journey and a safe return. Mrs. Harriet Johnson, Secretary for Professor Solomon, is now a secretary in the office of Professor Brooks in the Division of Engineering and Applied Physics.

The administrative section of the Laboratory has thus undergone a complete change in personnel. The position of Associate Director is being held open at the present. Our new Secretary is Mrs. Elizabeth Burnham, ably assisted in the bookkeeping by Miss Mary Hennedy. The staff of the Laboratory stands ready to give all possible aid to members of the Department in the pursuit of their research interests.

In view of the major nature of this transition it seems appropriate not only to introduce the new members of the administrative staff, but to take a larger view of the organization--a view that will in some degree remind us of the organization that carries on and exists in spite of our drastic losses, as a corporate and lively entity. The Laboratory is the research arm of the Department as a whole. The administrative staff is only the most visible part of it. Actually, as a complete organization it includes, not quite all, but a very large number of the members of the Department, both staff and student body. In substance it is the Department organized in pursuit of its research functions. Administratively, it is a twin to the Department. The Director is appointed by the Dean and is responsible to him directly. But the Director is also responsible to the Executive Committee of the Laboratory. It is this Committee, including the Director, which makes all major decisions. The Executive Committee is appointed by the Dean from among the members of the Department. The Committee is essentially a representative body, drawn from each of the four degree fields of the department and supplemented by the senior members and administrators of special facilities and locations connected with the Laboratory. A list of the members of the Executive Committee is included in this issue of the Bulletin, as the first of a series of lists of those who make up the organization. The regular meeting times of the Committee are also indicated. Hopefully this information will be useful to those who wish to make requests upon which the Committee must act. The times will remain substantially the same from year to year in order to facilitate planning.

The Laboratory is decentralized both as to its physical facilities and the administration of them. The administrative center is in Emerson Hall. The Small Group Observation Facility, the Computation Facility, the Animal Facility, and the Shop are also located in Emerson Hall. The Center for Research in Personality and the Prince House Annex, both on Divinity Avenue, are parts of the Laboratory, as is the research unit at 9 Bow Street. In each of the separate physical locations a senior member of the Department has a primary interest and an administrative responsibility, and works with one or more associates who assume responsibility for special facilities. There is a small secretarial staff at each location. The budgeting and financial accounting are also to some extent decentralized, but the administrative center carries the main responsibility in this area. An appended list displays this structure, according to location.

Each year the Laboratory appoints a number of Research Associates who are enabled from one source of funds or another to spend a significant portion of their time in research. The University from its own funds provides for the release of portions of time of regular members of the teaching staff of the Department, and this opportunity rotates according to need. For the current year, four members of the Department have such appointments. In addition to these a number of Research Associates are appointed each year with primary attachment to larger research projects, usually with funds provided in part by the project, and in part by the Department. A combination of teaching and research is considered to be desirable although there is no attempt to adhere rigidly to this norm. A forum for the presentation of on-going research to interested groups of colleagues is also considered to be desirable, and the Laboratory arranges, from time to time, for such discussions. There is no regular schedule or format for such presentations. They are arranged at the option of the Research Associate and in the way preferred by him. The list of Research Associates of the Laboratory for this year is appended.

A large number of graduate students in the Department are apppinted each year as Research Assistants on the projects of members of the Laboratory and Department. They are the ultimate recipients, within our Department, of a very large percentage of the research funds administered by the Laboratory from sources outside the University. As teaching and research hopefully go together for the Research Associates, so learning and research hopefully go together for the Research Assistants. Not only is the learning time of the student protected by the device of requiring the approval of his apppintment at a given portion of time by the Committee on Higher Degrees of the Department, but in his work on the project as well a scholarly apprenticeship is the ideal. The scholarly apprenticeship extends to the undergraduate level with the system of Faculty Aides. The graduate Research Assistants and the undergraduate Faculty Aides, along with the members of the staff whom they assist are indicated in a list in this Bulletin.

The University has this year instituted a scholarship system for Teaching Assistants which greatly eases the burden of tuition. The University system does not apply to Research Assistants, but since it is obviously desirable to keep Teaching and Research on a par, the Executive Committee of the Laboratory has increased the stipends of Research Assistants so as to match, as nearly as possible, the amounts that will be received by Teaching Assistants on various fractions of time, and at the two degrees of seniority. The system is not transparently simple, and it will necessarily be more expensive for projects, but I believe it will be equitable. For the information of graduate students who may be seeking assistantships and for project directors, a memorandum of the new stipends is included later on in the Bulletin.

If it is a worthy ideal that teaching, learning, and research should be kept in fine balance then it would seem that the sooner such a balance might be approached in the life of the young scholar-researcher the better. Within the limits of his ability to use them wisely, research facilities should be available to graduates and undergraduates as well as mature researchers. In particular, I think, there should be an attempt to equate the opportunities of research across fields and subfields of research, so that no young researcher need abandon a more promising intellectual lead for a less promising one because of differential availability of funds and facilities. Unfortunately the Laboratory has no regular source of funds from which modest grants might be made to equalize research opportunities among graduates, or undergraduates. This is a hope for the future. Nevertheless the Executive Committee of the Laboratory has instituted a very modest experimental program of providing funds for student thesis research in selected cases. A memorandum describing the conditions under which faculty members may initiate applications on behalf of students under their supervision is described in an accompanying memorandum.

The Laboratory as a whole has no substantive research program, but is completely devoted to building and maintaining a context within which the research creativity of individual members and groups of members may be fostered. The institutional setting, the intellectual values, the administrative framework, the major facilities are all organic parts of the university. The major part of the funds for research projects comes from outside the university, as they must. Private foundations provided the main part of grants for research in the first decade of the life of the Laboratory. Increasingly funds have come from governmental agencies and the prospect is that this trend will continue. We may all note with satisfaction the news that the National Science Foundation has elevated their former Office of Social Sciences to divisional status and that funds available to them for research in our area have increased from a$850,000 in 1958 to $3.4 million in 1961. The National Science Foundation will thus share the load of support of research more evenly with National Institutes of Health than

it has in the past. There are, so far as I know, no feelings of apprehension that governmental funds will over-control research, but there are feelings of regret at the diminishing willingness of private foundations to support basic research. In the long run a balance in the sources of support seems desirable.

The research funds administered by the Laboratory have increased more or less steadily over its fourteen year existence. The total for the current year is something over $300,000. from all sources. A list of the projects of members of the Laboratory is included in the present issue of the Bulletin, along with the source of support. A large part of the funds were attained on application of individuals to granting agencies, through the sponsorship of the Laboratory and the University. A smaller part of the funds were entrusted to the Laboratory by granting agencies for distribution by its Executive Committee to individual staff members for pilot projects. These funds for pilot projects are considered among the most valuable of all we have since they nearly all go to younger staff members and contriute the vital elements of development and flexibility so sorely needed. Applications for modest grants from these funds may be made to the Executive Committee at any time during the year and will receive action at its next meeting.

The timing of applications is actually one of the most troublesome bottle-necks in the whole array of practical considerations that underlie research. Nearly always it enters the researcher's head as an afterthought - and perhaps rightly so, since his main concern should be with the intellectual content. Nevertheless, forethought in this direction is possible and can greatly simplify the lives of all concerned. Financial crises are never pleasant and often can be avoided. As a contribution in this direction, I am including a summary of information about application deadlines to the National Institues of Health. Similar information about other granting agencies will be included in the Bulletin from time to time as it becomes available.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Bales

Robert F. Bales
Director

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF MENTAL HEALTH

APPLICATION DATES, FOR NEW GRANTS AND LONG-FORM RENEWALS

Grant to begin	New Applications	Long form renewals	Council review
Dec., Jan., Feb., Mar.	**July 1	* Feb. 1, **June 1	* June 1 **Oct. 1
Apr., May, June, July	**Nov. 1	* June 1 **Oct. 1	* Oct., Nov. **Feb.
Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov.	**Mar. 1	* Oct. 1 **Feb. 1	* Feb., Mar. **June

* - Early consideration
** - Deadline for applications

INFORMATION FOR NEW APPLICATIONS:

(a) For grants beginning 12-1, 1-1-, 2-1, and 3-1: deadline July 1

(b) For grants beginning 4-1, 5-1, 6-1, and 7-1: deadline Nov. 1

(c) For grants beginning 8-1, 9-1, 10-1, and 11-1: deadline Mar. 1

FOR LONG-FORM RENEWALS:

(a) For grants of Jan., Feb., and Mar.: deadline June 1
early consideration Feb.1

(b) For grants of Apr.,May, June and July: deadline Oct. 1
early consideration June 1

(c) For grants of Aug.,Sept.,Oct.,Nov., and Dec.: deadline Feb. 1
early consideration Oct.1

COUNCIL REVIEW:

(a) For deadline: Oct. 1; early consideration: June 1

(b) For deadline: Feb. 1; early consideration: Oct.- Nov.

(c) For deadline: June 1; early consideration: Feb.- Mar.

Members of the Executive Committee of the Laboratory of Social Relations

Prof. Gordon Allport
Prof. Robert W. White
Prof. Talcott Parsons
Prof. Henry A. Murray
Prof. David C. McClelland
Prof. Evon Z. Vogt
Prof. Jerome S. Bruner
Prof. Robert F. Bales, Chairman

Dates of regular meetings:

1961: January 10
February (open)
March 21
April 18
May 15
June (open)

Administration and Staff of the Laboratory of Social Relations
Associated with its various Facilities

Emerson Hall:

Administrative Center:

Director, Prof. Robert F. Bales

Secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Burnham
Assistant Bookkeeper, Miss Mary Hennedy
Editor of the Laboratory Bulletin, Mr. Theodor Nelson

Small Group Observation Facility:
Dr. Philip Stone

Computation Facility:
Asst. Prof. Arthur S. Couch

Animal Facility:
Dr. Brendan Maher

Shop
Mr. Henry Gerbrands

Divinity Avenue:

Center for Research in Personality:

Director, Prof. David C. McClelland

Secretary, Miss Alice Thoren
Asst. Secretary, Mrs. Doris Simpson
Asst. Secretary, Miss Marilyn Zucker

Prince House Annex:

Director, Prof. Henry A. Murray

Secretary, Mrs. Marjorie Ingalls

9 Bow Street:

Director, Prof. Jerome S. Bruner

Secretary, Mrs.Eleanor Horan
Asst. Secretary, Mrs. Maryse Anderson

RESEARCH ASSOCIATES
# of the
Laboratory of Social Relations
1960-1961

Bailyn, Lotte L.(Mrs.)	(associated with Dr. Kelman on his project, Social Influence and Behavior Change)
Bell, Norman W.	(associated with the Spiegel-Kluckhohn project: Family Transactions in Mental Health and Illness: The effect of variable cultural settings.)
Cohn, Barbara N.(Mrs.)	(associated with Dr. Riesman in Gen. Ed. course, Soc. Sci. 136)
Colby, Benjamin N.	(NIMH research grant: Culture Value Distributions)
Couch, Arthur S.	(associated with Dr. Murray on his project: Competitive and Cooperative Social Interaction.)
Gross, Paul A.M.	(*ibid.*)
Harding, John S.	(associated with Dr. Allport on his project: Measurements of Prejudice)
Kroeber, Theodore C.	(associated with DrMurray, see above)
Maher, Brendan	(Laboratory grant:An attempt to reconstruct the Miller approach-avoidance model of conflict.)
Mishler, Anita L. (Mrs.)	(associated with Dr. Kelman, see above.)
Stone, Philip J.	(associated with Prof. Bales on his project, Prediction of Interpersonal Behavior.)
Wessman, Alden E.	(associated with Dr. Murray, as above.)

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS
to the
Laboratory of Social Relations
1960 - 1961

* Baldwin, Michael	McClelland (Litwin)
Beauchamp, Murray	Colby
* Cain, Michael	Solomon-Mintz
( )Chan, Pearl	Leary
Churchill, Lindsey, C., Jr.	Bales
* Cohen, Allan	Alpert
Colby, Lore, Mrs.	Vogt
Collier, George	Colby
* Conly, Robert	McClelland
Cramer, Richard	Wheeler Pettigrew
Crider, Andrew	McClelland
Darley, John M.	Aronson
* Davison, Jerry	Alpert Bruner
( )Drues, Joan	Gottesmann
* Gershon, Elliot	Alpert
* Glass, Andrew	Alpert
Goldberg, Helen	French
Hauser, Stuart	Colby
Hill, David J.	Mann
* Hunt, Stanley	Bruner
Jencks, Christopher	Riesman
Kalin, Rudolph	McClelland
Linares, Olga	Vogt
Loubser, Johannes	Parsons
Mausolff, Carolyn	Bales
Metzner, Ralph	Mischel
Namenwirth, Zvi	Bales
Nelson, Theodor H.	Laboratory
Pirrotta, Adelaide	Colby
* Rigney, Joan	Bruner
Rogolsky, Saul	Spiegel-Kluckhohn
Scarr, Harry	Spiegel-Kluckhohn
Schuman, Howard	Allport
* Slote, Michael	Alpert
Smith, Carl D.	Bales
( )Sostek, Sheila J.	McClelland (Litwin)
( )Turner, Lucille, Co-investigator	Greenblatt-Turner
( )Vogt, Catherine C.	Vogt

* faculty aides
( ) non-Departmental assistants

LIST OF CURRENT PROJECTS

Laboratory of Social Relations

CARNEGIE CORPORATION

Parsons, Talcott P. -- Research in Social Theory
6-30-60 - 6-30-63
Riesman, David -- For studies of higher education
9-1-58 - 9-1-62

FIELD FOUNDATION

For social science investigations in human relations problems and graduate training and research in child development
12-1-59 - 11-30-64

Alpert: Nursery school survey
Allport: Measurements of prejudice
Allport-Pettigrew: Abstracting unpublished researches on varied African topics
Gottesman: Exploration and Research on twin traits
* Pettigrew: Continuation of desegregation research in Southern states
Vogt: Salary of research assistant to do historical research on changing character of Indian-Ladino relations
Wheeler: Agents of delinquency controls

* Pettigrew: Preparation for writing of social science volume on the desegregation process

FORD FOUNDATION

1) Grants-in-aid for research in behavioral sciences:
April, 1956 - to be terminated 6-30-63.
To: Professors Bales, Homans, Kluckhohn, Stouffer, Solomon, Mosteller, Kelman, Vogt.

2) McClelland, David C. --For a comparative study of the motivation of entrepreneurs in economically advanced and underdeveloped countries.
Received 10-17-58.

3) Wheeler and I. Zola, under direction of Dr. Bales
to Harvard University, made on 6-1-60 for:
Research awards in the field of delinquency

FORD FOUNDATION (Continued)

4) Director and Executive Committee of the Laboratory of Social Relations
Grants-in-aid for research in behavioral sciences :

Alpert, Richard - Developing and pretesting three measuring instruments - Oct. 1958

Colloquium - Student group

Mintz, Norbett - Schizophrenic and effective psychoses in Italian-born and second generations Italians - June 1959

Wheeler, Stanton - Special organization in a correctional community,
Original grant Oct. 1958
Supplementary grant April, 1959

Leary, Timothy - Research in an analysis of rate of change in patient behavior-
June 1960 for Fall 1960

Maher, Brendan - An attempt to re-construct the Miller approach-avoidance model of conflict-
October 1960

Nuttal, Ronald - Continuation of research on the sexual motivation of rats (carried on in 1959-60 under direction Dr. Trevor Peirce), October 1960

Grants made to aid in thesis research:

Cortes, Juan B.,S.J.(under direction-Dr.D.C.McClelland)
Palmer,Robert D. (under direction-Dr.Walter Mischel)
June 1960-
"Lateral Dominance and Personality Structure"

Grants made for payment of research assistants:

Aronson,Elliot (John Darley)
Colby,Benjamin (Stuart Hauser)
French, David (Helen Goldberg)
Mann, Richard (David Hill)

FORD FOUNDATION (continued)

5) Professorship - Research in the field of psychology of personality
July 1, 1956 to present

Aronson, Elliot - The effects of the Disconfirmation of an expectancy by a "positive" event
Nov. 1959 - Supplementary grant Oct.'60

Jones, Donal - Perception of traits in interpersonal situations

Mann, Richard - Relations between various individual personality characteristics and various aspects of individual performance in small groups
Nov. 1959

Mintz, Norbert L. (under direction Dr. R.L.Solomon)
Taboo training and testing superego strength or resistance to temptation in puppies - March 1959

Kremen, Irwin (under direction Dr. R. L Solomon)
Research in the area of dream investigations- June 1959
Supplementary grant- June 1960

GENERAL ELECTRIC

For Graduate research study at the Center for Research in Personality
under direction:
McClelland, David C.
(George Litwin, graduate student, conducting)

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF MENTAL HEALTH

1) Aronson, Elliot - The Confirmation and Disconfirmation of Expectancies- 2-1-61 to 1-31-62

2) Bales, Robert F. - Prediction of interpersonal behavior - 9-1-60 to 8-31-61

3) Colby, Benjamin - Culture value distributions- 11-1-60 - 2-28-61

4) Greenblatt, Milton and Turner, Miss Lucy
Parametric studies of human traumatic avoidance learning- 9-1-60 - 8-31-61

5) Kelman, Herbert C.-Social influence and behavior change
6-1-60 - 5-31-61

6) McClelland, David- Diagnostic significance of variations in fantasy- 9-1-60 - 8-31-61

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF MENTAL HEALTH (Continued)

7) Mischel, Walter - Delay of gratification in choice situations- 9-1-60 - 8-31-61

8) Spiegel, John and Kluckhohn, Florence- Family transactions in mental health and illness; The effect of variable cultural settings- 9-1-60 - 8-31-61

9) Vogt, Evon Z. - Mexican Cultural Change Project- 1-1-61 - 12-31-61

PRIZE FUND

(Originally a Lord & Taylor prize won by Dr. S. Stouffer) added to by Fund for the Republic for use of IBM equipment

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Stouffer, Samuel A. - For a study of social structure in relation to community leadership in local communities

"ROYALTY" RECEIPTS

Receipts of royalties from published books whose original research was supported by the Laboratory: including Parsons and Shils; Smith, Bruner & White; and Gross, among others.

TACONIC FUND

Pettigrew, T.F. - For support of work on desegregation - 3-30-60

WARREN BENEVOLENT FUND

Zimmerman, Carle C. - For work on family relations 10-25-60

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS' SALARIES.

To conform with the increase in salaries for Teaching Fellows as of July 1, 1960, the Laboratory Executive Committee has voted to increase the salaries for Research Assistants for the academic year 1960-61. The new rates are indicated on the accompanying schedule. These appointments, all fractional, are made in each case upon recommendation by project directors to the Laboratory Executive Committee and the Committee on Higher Degrees.

In addition, the Laboratory Executive Committee has increased the rates for Research Assistantships for the Summer of 1960. These are included on the schedule. Summer assistantships are permitted to run not more than 2 2/3 months and may not be for more than 3/5 time.

A confidential memorandum, stating the policies on the granting of Research Assistantships to graduate students, and a statement for the information of graduate students on such policies are avilable in the Laboratory office.

SCHEDULE OF SALARIES FOR RESEARCH ASSISTANTS
1960--61

Junior rate (Graduate students who have not completed residence, hence, paying full tuition)

Full-time rate used as base for fractions	$4200
Lump sum in lieu of tuition scholarship	800

1/5 time	$182.22 per month, total for nine months	1640
1/4 time	$205.55 per month, total for nine months	1850
2/5 time	$275.55 per month, total for nine months	2480
1/2 time	$322.22 per month, total for nine months	2900

Summer schedule

3/5 time...(maximum fraction), $333.33 per month
for a total of two and two-thirds months.. 890

Senior rate (Graduate students who have completed residence, hence, on reduced tuition)

Full-time rate used as base for fractions	$5400
Lump sum in lieu of tuition scholarship	200

1/5 time	$142.22 per month, total for nine months	1280
1/4 time	$172.22 per month, total for nine months	1550
2/5 time	$262.22 per month, total for nine months	2360
1/2 time	$322.22 per month, total for nine months	2900
3/5 time	$382.22 per month, total for nine months	3440

Summer schedule

3/5 time...(maximum fraction), $375.00 per month
for a total of two and two-thirds months.. 1000

Policy for providing funds for student thesis research

The Executive Committee of the Laboratory of Social Relations will each year consider a limited number of requests for funds for both undergraduate and graduate student thesis research.

The procedure for requesting and administering such grants is as follows:

1. Any staff member who is directing a thesis research of a student is eligible to apply for a research grant covering the expenses necessary to keep the student from suffering financial hardship in the course of his thesis research. In each case, presence of actual financial need on the part of the student as vouched for by his advisor will be determining. This program is not intended to aid students who have enough resources to pay their own costs. In no instance should students apply directly to the Laboratory for financial support of their thesis research.

2. In making such a request the faculty member who is directing the thesis should state clearly that the research is definitely outside of the coverage of any and all research grants that the staff member holds at the present time. Or, alternatively, if the area of thesis research is definitely within the project subject matter, the staff member must demonstrate that the project is unable for financial reasons to support the research of the student as part of its regular project business.

3. It is understood that the faculty member who makes the request for support of a student's thesis research commits himself to close supervision of the student's work.

4. It is understood that this is an experimental program, and only if it works out for the benefit of the student and for the facilitation of good research will this program be continued. During the experimental period, here are some of the restrictions and limitations that will be applied:

   (1) Research expenses should be carefully specified.
   (2) Clerical expenses for typing of the thesis may not be included.
   (3) No salary or subsistence costs can be paid to the student.
   (4) The faculty applicant should understand and endorse the purposes for which the money is to be spent, and should approve all expenditures when they occur.
   (5) The grant may not be used to pay graduate students in the Department of Social Relations (for services like reliability checks, coding, role-playing, interviewing, etc.).

(6) Students must always expect that there will be expenses connected with thesis research apart from final typing costs. These grants are not intended to take up all such costs. Requests for grants should be made only for costs in excess of $25. for undergraduate students, or $50. for graduate students. Normally, the top limit for undergraduate grants is $50., but this may be extended to $100. in very exceptional circumstances. Grant requests should include a detailed breakdown of total costs.

(7) Ordinarily there shall be only one such grant for a given thesis.

A reminder: It is a Laboratory policy not to pay a student a stipend for the time he spends on his thesis research. A Research Assistant should render full services to his research project for the stipend he receives, over and above the work he does for his thesis.

When the father is absent: a study in identity.

We here digest work done by Roy D'Andrade and Lee Monroe, members of the Palfrey House research group, under the direction of Dr. John Whiting.

This is a summary of recent research to learn how children identify. Does a child prepare for the adult role by merely ~~watchi~~ watching, or by envying, the people who are what the child will become? The latter alternative is the "status envy hypothesis."

Any society must socialize its members. Not being born ready to fill an adult role, a person needs to be prepared for it. At the end of the process there should be general agreement as to the place the individual occupies in the society. For all-round stability and satisfaction, the adult must agree with others on what he is in the society's system of statuses and roles. But not only must he be trained for the job; he must want to be what he is supposed to become. To become an adult, you must want to be one.

Research reports.

When the father is absent: a study in identity. 24
Fancy and economic growth: or, the will to work hard. 28

The status-envy hypothesis is that two stages prcede an individual's coming to a sense of identity. First, he is prevented from getting something--"status-disbarment". The child wants to be what neither he, nor others, think he is. (His "optative identity" is different from both his "subjective identity" and his "attributed identity.")

By this theory, the child will only identify with the people who are getting the scarce "resources"--food, love, attention, and all--when these resources are denied him. The child envies the other people's getting what he can't have, and so rehearses their roles in play and fantasy. He is thereby readied for taking these roles in later life. That is, he is readied if he is lucky. For if the people he envies are the wrong ones--women, when he is a boy--he will be off on the wrong foot, and drastic measures may be needed to set him straight for the man's part.

The status-envy theory, therefore, has these interesting implications: If the resources are inexhaustible, the child, a contented consumer, will not identify with anybody. Neither will the child identify if he and his mother stay in happy complementarity, each pleasing the other all the time. She must take the resources he covets--then he will envy her; or give them to someone else--who will then also be envied. The Oedipal situation is just a particular case, for this theory; the child wants love and affection but sees his father receiving it. The Oedipal situation will not necessarily develop, however. If the mother is the only one to give and withhold the resources, the boy-child's optative identity will be feminine; if the father is there too, the child will more likely envy adults as a general category.

Studies by others, designed without the status-envy hypothesis, seem generally in line with it. For instance, Rohrer and Edmondson in The Eighth Generation (1960) studied children from matriarchic households. He found that women in this society were properly prepared for their future status--the girls of the matriarchy were likely, in their turn, to set up other matriarchic households near the old. Boys from the same environment were not so clearly prepared. Some, on leaving the household, would fall under the dominance of older boys; they would violently reject those ideas, symbols and strivings which they had had before, and now considered feminine.

Similar strains can be found in Walter Miller's description of lower-class culture. In his analysis, both serial monogamy--the attachment of a mother, one by one, to a train of men--and a concern with toughness-and-masculinity are among the focal attributes and concerns of this culture. The obvious connection is in the direction of the theory--the child's attachment to his mother must be disengaged "by force". A number of other studies have furnished evidence that members of delinquent gange come out of houdeholds from which fathers have been long absent. Similarly, studies from World War II showed that when fathers went to war, their young sons became

girl-like in fantasy and overt behavior. The boys conspicuously lacked aggression. When the father returned, the boys became much more aggressive, one way or another. Another study dealt with the families of Norwegian sailors. These boys without their fathers were infantile and dependent.

The present study subjected the status-envy hypothesis to some general tests, using data from the cross-cultural files.

It was possible to ascertain the sleeping-arrangements of sixty-four different cultures, and learn where the intant fits in. Of these sixty-four, thirty-six leave the child alone with its mother at night, twenty-eight make him sleep alone or share the bed with both father and mother.*

The residence-patterns of these sixty-four societies gave the other key indication of what statuses will be envied. The power and authority in the family unit depend in part on whether a society is patrilocal, matrilocal or equilocal. In a patrilocal society, the wife moves in on her husband's family and the husband stays among men of close relation and long acquaintance. Here the men clearly have the power. They also have the child's envy. In the matrilocal society, privilege and authority, which inhere partly in the family chains of familiarity and affection, will pertain in larger measure to the women, and this will strengthen the child's feminine identification with less masculine identification for ballast. (Equilocal systems, having option as to where the couple shall live, do not stand out one way or the other.)

Let us now compare some questions of theory to the available evidence.

Theory. The child alone with the mother from the first will envy *her*, for she often consumes (or withholds) what he wants. It *is her* role that he will practice in fantasy and play. If the society has patrilocal residence, this man-child will have a psychological crisis when it is time for him to assume an adult male identify. He will need some mechanism to make the change of identity definitive and compelling. The theory would predict puberty rites--ceremonials, circumcision and a general shakeup by adult males. The more femininity the boy must shake off, the tougher the rites.

Findings. Thirteen societies of the sixty-four had elaborate male initiation ceremonies that included genital operations of a most painful kind. *Every one* of these societies also had the mother-child exclusive sleeping arrangement, and twelve of the thirteen had patrilocal residence. The chi-squre is enormous.

Theory. Societies that leave the infant alone with his mother, and also give much authority to women, will give the boy initial *and later* identification with women. Such societies will have some means for the adult male to act out the feminine role, although he must generally spurn it.

(To a European, one of the oddest customs that are to be found in preliterate societies is the *couvade*, where a husband goes to bed and symbolically enacts the childbirth his

wife is undergoing; during their confinement, he is subject to the same taboos as she. This would appear to be an example of a means for the male to act out a role he has envied.)

Findings. Of the sixty-four societies, twelve have the couvade. Of these twelve, ten have exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements and nine have matrilocal residence. (With 90% of cases in the predicted cells, this, too, is highly significant statistically.)

This constitutes good grounds for psychologists and anthropologists to stand by and watch the envy-role.

*Only one society gives the infant a room of his own. That is ours.

Fancy and economic growth: or, the will to work hard.

This is a rough outline of an outline of David C. McClelland's The Achieving Society (van Nostrand, 1961, in press.) The research was done under a grant from the Ford Foundation, with the help of several dozen research assistants and in diverse places and circumstances.

In Weber's classic study of motivation and economic growth, he hypothesized a link between the religious ethic of Protestantism and the thought and habit-patterns men need to build a dynamic economy.

This report is an extreme condensation of a very broad study. The study tested this theory* that Protestantism was only a particular case; that a certain frame of mind brings economic growth, and Protestantism is only one thing that brings this frame of mind.

In many earlier studies it had been shown that studying one special kind of behavior can tell us a great deal about the inner concerns of the one behaving. That is fantasy behavior. From his imaginings, stories and dreams it is possible to measure a man so we will know what he is likely to do overtly.

The need for achievement--or need-Achievement, or n-Achievement--is one measure. The need for achievement is the desire to do well for the sake of doing well, not instrumentally as a path to love or prestige or praise. People who score high on this trait rather desire to do well for their inner feeling of personal accomplistment. A man possessing high n-Achievement, as measured in his fantasies, will not work harder and faster when prizes are offered, but will when he can satisfy criteria he respects. Many studies have shown that he will do his darndest when his work counts for the records.

May we call this personality trait, n-Achievement, the cause of dynamic economic expansion? Such was the question of this study, and obviously not an easy one to test. For instance, good estimates of n-Achievement can be gotten under laboratory conditions; we can code stories that a subject writes when he is shown a picture. But for the more interesting question--the distribution of high n-Achievement people in a given population, at a given time-- it is much harder to find a method. And one question at hand is whether people of a nation that is growing are distinguished from the people of a nation undeveloped or stagnant by this trait, n-Achievement.

It was already known that n-Achievement could be measured from any kind of imaginative written material-- poetry, drama, epics, funeral orations, letters home from sea captains. In the current study, such materials were assembled for ancient Greece, to see what could be learned of how n-Achievement tied in with her known economic growth. Greek documents with comparable theme were found spanning a millennium of history, and divided roughly into three sections: 900 to 475 B.C.; 475 to 362 B.C.; and 362 to 100 B.C. The periods were called, respectively, periods of economic growth, climax and decline. The evidence for this is th multitude of Greek vases that have been found around Europe, Africa and the East. Vases carried wine and olive oil, the principal Greek exports. From their distribution, wider from some times of commerce than others, we obtain the dates above.

Tabulating commercial growth and decay by n-Achievement, it was found that indeed, by this plotting, the n-Achievement had reached its peak about a century before the economic peak, or when entrepreneurship must have been at its most assiduous. This corroborates similar studies done for Spain in the 16th Century a England in the 16th and 18th Centuries,*

The same method was then tried on preliterate societies. Using folk-tales**-- which are fantastic or fanciful enough for "inner concerns" to show-- it was possible to get n-Achievement scores for societies of globally diverse habitat and customs.

For a measure of economic development-- a most difficult task, considering the differentness and remoteness of many of these societies-- the number of "entrepreneurs" in a society were estimated. An entrepreneur became, operationally, "anyone who exercises control over the means of production and produces more than he can consume in order to sell it for individual or household income."*** The results were distinctly in favor of t theory; this kind of entrepreneurship seems to be strongly relat to n-Achievement in the cross-cultural sample.

		Entrepreneurs present	No entrepreneurs	
n-Ach	Hi	74%	26%	19
	Lo	35%	65%	20

χ^2 = 5.97, $p < .02$

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* Bradburn and Berlew, in *J. Econ. develpmt. Cult. Change*, 1961 (in press); Cortes, in *J. Econ. develpmt. Cult. Change* 1960 (in press.)

** See Atkinson (ed.), *Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society*, 1

*** Provided he receives seventy-five percent of his income from such market operations.

For the present purposes, this took care of past and preliterate societies. The next phase of the study was to test the theory for modern nations, both now and in the recent past: to see how n-Achievement relates to the nations' industrial growth.

As a fantasy-source that would be comparable for all cultures, children's readers were studied. Children's readers were collected from the world over for two dates: [illegible] published about 1925, and books published about 1950. This yielded about 1300 stories, in lots of 21. There were 21 stories each for 23 countries in the mid-twenties and for 39 countries from around 1950. All the stories were translated to English and the names of characters of origin. This told of n-Achievement.

Measures of economic development, however, have many problems--poor reporting, pricing, weighting in GNP analysis, and the like.

The measure of economic development finally selected was the rate of growth of electrical output. While this may seem curious, it was quantitative in a simple manner; moreover, it avoided the vocal problems. Electrical growth is universal and basic to industrial development; as a bonus, it correlates well both with per-capita income and with absolute level of electrical output.

From the average gain of electric power between 1925 and 1950, a regression analysis was computed to ascertain which countries have gained more economically, which less. The correleation between n-Achievement in the children's readers and this measure of industrial growth was a solid .53.

A further test was made on these same data to try the theory for countries not represented by fantasy-samples from the 'twenties. (Principally, these countries were undeveloped or Communist.) When the 1950 sample of readers were used to predict of industrial growth for these countries between 1952 and 1958, n-Achievement did indeed predict well, r= .43. In other words, by these findings, n-Achievement functions in collectivist and underdeveloped countries quite the same way it does here.

A dark and surprising rating came up incidentally in the fantasy-material. This was an apparent index of "ruthlessness" that correlates almost perfectly with the growth of dictatorial regimes in these countries between the 'thirties and the 'fifties, after the children's stories were published. This index was the need to influence other people (n-Power) without the concern for for others' welfare (n-Affiliation.) It presaged--in the children's readers--the regimes of Peron, Franco, Togo, Hitler. Some regimes did not cast their shadows before, in the children's books, and some had n- Power without n-Affiliation but did not get a dictator. But there were only a couple.

We turn now from societies to individuals. What does a man's n-Achievement do to his behavior? Let us consider, for instance, the entrepreneur.

The entrepreneur, it is generally agreed, was most important in the development of the West. He was the man who could imagine, dragoon and organize new combinations of resources; he could make

new things and create new markets. But why did he? Marx and the classical economists agreed that presumably, for what the money would buy, these men were driven by "the profit motive," but their analysis eventually runs aground. Why, then, did the great entrepreneurs never *stop* making money when they could buy anything they wanted?

According to the present theory, the entrepreneur is a man who deliberately risks failure, in such a way that he will probably succeed by exerting enough effort or skill. But neither will he make special effort in a routine task, nor will he take chances in plain flip-of-a-coin gambling. He is a mettle-taster. Then the point of hard work is to succeed by criteria he can respect--and as such a criterion, money is visible, tangible and *also* spendable.

As a part of this study, the "test of mettle" hypothesis was tried on children. 26 five-year-old boys were given a ringtoss game, and told they could throw the ring at the peg from any distance. It developed that the boys low on n-Achievement would throw the ring indifferently from far and near, while high n-Achievement boys threw from a distance where they had a moderate chance of success. Only at the in-between distance will the skill really show.

Another study in this series tested boys in the United States, Japan, Brazil and India. It was found that low n-Achievement boys-- those who gave willing and optimistic answers on a questionnaire-- would do their best at the laboratory task regardless of the situation, while the high n-Achievement boys would only give their best under conditions of competition and risk.

Other entrepreneurial characteristics seem to appear in the laboratory situation. For instance, high n-Achievement boys perform better when they know exactly how well they are doing. They also believe they should be paid more money for doing it.

The question remaining here is whether business-executives, are these same boys gotten bigger. Do they have higher n-Achievement? This part of the study--being carried on in the General Electric Company-- is not yet complete, but the following results are apparent from data now available.

N-Achievement is much higher for the more successful junior executives than for the less successful ones. However, "adjusters"-- men whose function is supervisory and judicial--are considerably lower in n-Achievement. (A comparable study of Turkish executives finds their n-Achievement scores to be around the level of the American business "adjusters.")*

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* Bradburn, N.M. *The Managerial Role in Turkey*. Ph.D. thesis, Harv

The theory of economic development relates to the class-structure as follows: in countries where only an elite have access to capital and government power, the control of enterprise will go to this elite. The economic establishment would be much more strong and dynamic if it were open to men of the middle class, where n-Achievement will be higher.

The Western, developed nations, by contrast, provide opportunity for the achievers to achieve. This also includes the Soviet Union, where another method of promoting people to positions of entrepreneurship is used, but the effect is similar. Plant managers who fail to do well are weeded out right away. It may be supposed that a man cannot climb if he judges his actions by "accessory" standards (quality, integrity, and general benefit) and he cannot take time to get on his feet. This method, too, tends to find the highest n-Achievement people, although many little flowers are mowed down.

What is the source of high n-Achievement? We will glance only briefly at this question. Not heredity; there is no correlation between the 1925 and 1950 samples. The best evidence* seems to be that mothers create high n-Achievement motivation in their children by setting high standards, and then praise and reward the children when the standards are fulfilled. Indeed, authoritarian mothers are associated with children's high n-Achievement but authoritarian fathers with low. There is, we may suppose, a difference in the role, or the style, that makes a mother give this to a child but not a father.

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* Rosen and d'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation." Sociometry 22: 1959, 185-218.

These studies suggest a number of courses of action for countries that demand economic development. The emancipation of women and the opening up of the class and opportunity structure are two obvious possibilities. In the shorter run, a "produce or else!" approach in industrial organization is more likely to get the highest n-Achievement people into positions where they will do the most for their society. Also vice versa; the society will then give the high n-Achievement people the most in return--which they will consider only fair.

"Some literary and epistemological reasons for straight English in social theory."

All the world seems to be interested in scientific method, and this has tended to obscure two truths: that we really do know quite a bit about people, and that the natural languages (English, for one) have innate clarity and strength that we may not be noticing for describing the human situation and human nature.

I mean to discuss this topic under two main headings:why social scientists should write more like people talk, on the literary grounds of beauty, charity and foresight; and why social scientists should not and *should* use ordinary, untechnical language, on the technical ground both of propriety and theoretical content.

Language, clogged and clear

A few years ago an historian at Swarthmore College, Dr. Laurence D. Lafore, presented his students with a list of sixty-six words whose use in his presence he would not allow. At the top of the mimeographe sheet it says: *JARGON CONTROL PROGRAM*. It is a painful list to read, because these are delicious words: *bifurcate*, *historiography*, *schematiz* *Interrelate*, *ideational*, *pragmatic*. How could we do without them?

His reasons for building this list might have been several. A personal distaste, perhaps, for the words; a belief that they did not belong in the study of history; and the belief that they confound clear thought. I will not give the whole list (it can be found in *Harper's*) but the words are of several main types: 1) Mistakes: *administrate*, analyzation, *effectuate*, *orientate*. 2) Self-aggrandizing words, of a kind that drive out precision and make your thoughts blotty and blunted: *analysis*, *concept*, *level*. (forbidden " as a noun, in any save a physical sense"), *framework* ("except in connection with buildings"), *feel* ("in the sense of believe "), *practically* ("in the sense of almost"). 3) Elongated- yellow-fruit words (of the sort used by people who will not say "banana" twice): *anthropocentric*, *historicity*, *ratiocination*. (Doesn't the "historicity" of an event mean "whether it happened' ")?

Lafore is a most learned gentleman and a superbly literate lecturer, and if he is suspicious of anyone for whom the language of Edward Gibbon and H. W. Fowler is not good enough, perhaps the social scientist should listen.

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Because it is the social-sciencey words that fill up his list--not the words that social scientists use when they explicitly state their findings or theories, but the chatter-words that come up all the time in their talk and exposition, of the let's-throw-it-in-the-UNIVAC-and-see-if-it-outputs variety.

One of the strongest criticisms of social science is indeed the "jargon" one. Nobody criticizes findings, if they are findings; but one can, and many do, criticize talk that uses clumsy language. If we are to call Lafore's stand provincial, then the rest of the literate world is a province of social science. That would be going too far. Between the social sciences and the rest of the world, which is a province of whom? Perhaps we know more about certain things, or have better reason for not knowing, but should these habits (less knowledge than style) fuddle our contact with the outside?

Perhaps his list as constituted can't stand--words like "continuu "factor," "correlate" are incontrovertibly respectable. But the spiri of his criticism might be nice to pick up. We could certainly use some kind of rapprochement with the Humanities; the public-relations situation is not altogether good. Readers' discomfort and distaste have resulted in outsiders' ill thoughts. Clearly we have nothing to be embarrassed about, but if we could give a better impression by making it easier to find out what we do, why not? This might also counteract the world-tendency for people to treat the social scientist uncritically as an expert, not listen, and treat his findings as fodder for contrary, unlettered opinions.

To make a thing pleasant for the passerby reader is certainly not the only goal of the sociologist or psychologist, especially if his is writing for others like him. But if we can make it pleasant, why should we not? Why be terse and condensed in imitation of oatmeal rather than discursive, as if you were to take a friend for a short ramble by the pond, willing to tell him something he might be happy knowing?

Well, there are literary reasons that a man may have for wanting his work to be obscure, or technical-sounding, or non-popular. Part is decorum. Part may be a man's conviction that not only does he have something special to say--he does, of course-- but that such a special thing cannot be broken up to bite-size. And, of course, a professional colleague should see the nice distinctions and organization, not flattering, garish and itty-bitty presentations that might be confecte for This Week (or The New York Times Magazine).

On the other hand, there are less admirable reasons for writing thickly that we should examine, so we may know their footfall when they steal in unannounced. Perhaps there are people the social scientist does not want understanding his work. Perhaps, deploring the "dilettante," he has disrespect for the lay mind; or is anxious to avoid the disrespect of a layman who wouldn't appreciate the finesse of his research design. These questions, if not rhetorical, are private.

As in most places it comes up, the question of foresight is more pressing than most individuals will admit. Just as anyone will build a factory on a park-site if it seems that someone else might, most people are all too willing to coin words and introduce usages that hurt the language as a whole. I have heard, but cannot document right now, the following tale: in the Nineteenth Century the man who discovered a reflex which he dubbed the "knee-jerk" was forced

Because it is the social-science words that fill up his list—not the words that social scientists use when they explicitly state their findings or theories, but the shatter-words that come up all the time in their talk and exposition, of the let's-throw-it-in-the-[illegible]-and-see-if-it-comes-out variety.

One of the strongest criticisms of social science is indeed the "jargon" one. Nobody criticizes findings, if they are findings; but one can, and many do, criticize talk that uses clumsy language. If we are to call Lafora's stand provincial, then the rest of the literate world is a province of social science. That would be going too far. Between the social scientist and the rest of the world, which is a province of whom? Perhaps we know more about certain things, or have better reason for not knowing, but should these better ideas (knowledge than style) [illegible] our contact with the outside?

Perhaps his list as constituted can't stand—words like "condition," "factor," "correlate" are [illegible]. But the spirit of his criticism might be nice to give up. We would certainly use some kind of rapprochement with the humanities; the people-relations situation is not altogether good. [illegible] discomfort and distrust have resulted in outsiders' ill thoughts. Clearly we have nothing to be embarrassed about, but if we could give a better impression by making it easier to find out what we do, why not? This might also counteract the world-tendency for people to treat the social scientist uncritically as an expert, not listen, and treat his findings as fodder for contrary, unlettered opinions.

To make a thing pleasant for the nonsavvy reader is certainly not the only goal of the sociologist or psychologist, especially if his is writing for others like him. But if we can make it pleasant, why should we not? Why be terse and concerned in imitation of classical rather than discursive, as if you were to take a friend for a long ramble by the pond, wishing to tell him something he might be happy knowing?

Well, there are literary reasons that a man may have for wanting his work to be obscure, or technical-sounding, or esoteric. [illegible] Each may be a man's conviction that not only does he have something special to say—he does, of course—but that such a special thing cannot be brought up to be plain-talk. And, of course, a professional colleague should see the nice distinctions and organization, not distracting polish and very-nice phrasing that might be suitable for the Reader's Digest or The New York Times Magazine.

On the other hand, there are legitimate reasons for writing that we should consider. [illegible] Perhaps there are people [illegible] understanding his work. Perhaps, [illegible] for the lay reader [illegible] the statement of a [illegible] who would [illegible] the precision [illegible] question [illegible] technical.

[illegible] comes up, the question of [illegible] is more [illegible] than [illegible] individuals will [illegible]. Just as [illegible] a factory on a [illegible] it seems [illegible] people are all too willing to coin words and introduce usages that hurt the language as a whole. I have heard, but cannot document right now, the following tale: in the Nineteenth Century a man who discovered a reflex which he dubbed the "knee-jerk" was forced to spend the rest of his life fighting others' desire to call it the "patellar reflex." They won. Unfortunately, it is difficult to dispel the sense of false dignity that a man gets from crowding out a bright, healthy word for an obtuse one.

But then this is a time that everyone may contribute to the next directions of the language. The engineer writing a manual, the science-fiction writer, the TIME rewrite man, each has his chance to throw in some invention of his own. Perhaps we are lucky they do no more damage than is done; but in any case the true English literates are involved in a holding operation much like preserving the National Parks. We are at an intersection of heritage and crosswind, and where there can be pleasant new fragrances--I am particularly fond of Lower East Side syntax, for example -- there can also be pure damage, where a few careless neologisms wreck an entire scaffolding of etymological connections; lobotomizing, as it were, relationships that once stood handsome and whole. (We do not initiate a computer-program; we "initialize" it. "Realize" is now used almost always for "come to be aware"; soon we may use "reify" for "bring about ").

In a particular application

Should the discussion seem by now obscure, I will apply this conservationist's view to a craft which is minor and not substantive, but interesting; the coining of new words for the social sciences. Some say sociology (etc.)is a lot of playing with words; but I think it, and the near disciplines, might find more playing with words both wholesome and fitting.

First a sad instance: When Information Theory arrived, Shannon and Weaver had to choose one of these words for a concept they proposed: bit, binit, bigit. I heavily regret the loss-aborning of the word "bigit," which had euphony, charm, quaintness and distinguishability. Shannon and Weaver instead chose the word "bit," which is hard to pronounce; when one says the phrase, "a message containing four bits," he cannot say it lightly, effortlessly, as one firm in his science and long accustomed; he must give the word audible quotation-marks, to distinguish it from the ordinary-language "bit," meaning smidgin. The word must be, my pardons, bitten off. "Bigit" would have been clearer and prettier; but count on mathematicians to be terse, even though it has its drawbacks for others.

This is just my impression, of course, and now, with the state of things, an idle regret. But it serves to suggest and warn. All other things being equal-- and in the section to come I will try to say what things-- a new term should be decorative and distinct, and leave the Greek and Latin morphemes in good condition , either by combining them in unusual ways-- as "orgone" does-- or leaving them alone. Punchy Anglo-Saxon roots are certainly not used enough. (Why should students of culture favor the Mediterranean past the Teutonic)? In a page of neo-Latin writing, like those turned out by officials, it would be a rest for the eyes to find terms like "basket lunch," "whippersnapper," and "ooze sucker." (This last is used, unfortunately, in "limnology," the study of puddles).

There is no harm in having spaces in neologisms, and (remembering the decorative function) there can be reason for rhyme. How about the "hunch bunch"(for cognitive studies) and "utility totality" (for decision theory)? * More attention, too, should be given to the possibility of garlanding neologisms, making up words that are interestingly related to one another. For example, in decision theory,

why not have the "strat" and the "edgy," the "tac" and the "tic" (with, as a special case, the "toe")? Unfortunately, my criticism of Shannon and Weaver applies here, but the example must do.

As it was and should be (a theory about some of the right concepts)

The technical side of the question is a bit more serious. Are there right relations between natural and technical language? My approach is philosophical. There are those of us who have been most impressed with the successes of recent British philosophy, as conducted by such men as Wittgenstein and Wisdom. The method consists in searching natural language for the causes of philosophical problems, where they have been complicated in the folds of the language's use.

There are many issues to discuss on the validity and generality of their method; for instance, whether the analysts are really introducing the distinctions they claim to find. But brief contact with the school suggests that there may be insights here with applications outside-- in sociology and social psychology, for instance, where so many concepts are perplexingly like those we use in everyday speech and thought. In this spirit, let me bring up some ideas. The reasoning to follow goes thus: the relation between ordinary-language terminology and social science is delicate and important. It is treacherous (though easy) to think you have isolated the hard core of a natural-language term, and give it an operational definition; but the meanings you oust may be important in the long run. However, it is a dilemma; if you don't attempt a full analysis of the ordinary-language idea, and substitute another one, the new one may be superfluous and misleading.

The privileged predicate

What are you doing when you call a theoretical variable by an ordinary name ("hate," "group," "value")? You suggest that your concept is the best for some reason. All the other connotations the word might have, say, to an eavesdropper who had not been listening carefully, are removed. Let us call your variable, then, a "privileged predicate," more deserving of the term than any other of the family.

Many people do this when they talk about "science." Freudians do it with "sex." It is quite easy.

There are many reasons to believe one has hold of a privileged predicate, the first of which is naivete. If you think you have the quintessence of an idea, the paradigm, prototype or heart case, you may want to give it the top name, usually associated with the idea-family, and slough off the rest as degenerate instances. Or you may think you have located "primaries" suitable for describing all related phenomena, much like primary colors.

Of course, your only justification when you think about it may be, "I got here first." But this is Top Dogmanship, and we may call it a literary problem in the sense above.

One of the choicest reasons for thinking you have found a privileged predicate is that your concept is outstandingly clear, and the other related ones seem to you a lot of confusion. If you are right, and they are, that is very good; but if you really want the crowning term of the family-- the cherry from the sundae-- should you not qualify it, to show how special your sense is? To take an

instance, the sense of "rational" most often used in sociology (from Weber, referring to formalized criteria of behavior) is a useful notion, but as a restriction of ordinary terminology it is rather unkind. Today's decision-theorists want to talk about ranges and kinds of rationality, in the ordinary-language sense, that are different, independent of and even contrary to this usage-- showing that the restriction of "rational" may not have been a felicitous action after all.

This direction of argument, one clearly perceived, generally brings back this reply: "But my dear man, you have to restrict your terms for any progress in scientific endeavor." Mathematics is the usual example. As a concept from that (to take an example's example), the mathematical concept of "limit" corresponds to an intuitive thing. Yet the intuitive meaning has been pinned down to a set with a critical, defining property, making it clear which things are limits and which are not. Whether this is an applicable procedure with words involving people is another matter. We must recognize that there is not a crowd of *other* kinds of "limit" clamoring for our recognition. Other limit-like things in mathematics are handled otherwise, and there is no ordinary-language problem, for in ordinary language we do not talk of them at all.

But people make another matter. What should one do on confronting a family of ideas in the human realm? Let us say you have a category, and you're not sure how this category relates to a certain ordinary-language one. It might be that your category overlaps the conventional one, or is broader or narrower; or that the conventional term is so impacted as to be indeterminate by comparison. (Further problems can come from not being able to analyze the language well enough, or not having the theory all worked out). But I would like to assert that whatever departures you take from normal usage you must *justify*; to throw away a connotation someone else will need is quite wasteful, when you could have used a different word, or one rhyming with it, etc. The old, easy idea is gone for the others.

In this connection I think the WORST move in naming a category is, on noticing a resemblance between two things, to take the name of one of them for both. (If this was successful in animal taxonomy, and a new thing from another land got called a "duck," it was on very precise evidence). For if I, as namer, note that there are resemblances between love and hate, and perhaps there are certain transformations between them (they reverse easily), that is not enough cause for calling hate *just a kind* of love. (Nor, if pessimistic, for calling love a kind of hate). I might, in the future, then be able to discover that what everybody has always called "love" isn't really love at all! Can we permit these shenanigans with words so important? A new more general predicate "huv," if nothing better, would be more plainly anchored.

Why is this important? There are two arguments. One is merely that the natural-language word represents an important potful of concepts, and you mustn't take away the handle. The second line is tougher, and that is that the *true* variable is the one whose name you stole, and that your variable is a special case, or a gross distortion, of the true. I think this is the case with the word "affect," which is said to be more precise than the term "emotion." If it is more precise, how? One possibility is that *affect* is only what shows, while *emotion* implies an internal state. But is it to

be supposed that no internal states cause affect? Another possibility is that emotions, which can be hidden, are less measurable-- ah, but th more interesting therefor.

This is my hunch for the terms that count, and I mean emotion, love, hate, free will, care, commitment, soul... quite a few, and quite important. In these contexts the operational definition is a sharp and bloody knife, to be eschewed altogether. The natural-language term's ordinary use shows what it really means as a social-science variable. They are things that can be analyzed, and measured gingerly, but not defined. Let me try to give my reasons for this blanket thought, with the assurance that I am only tentative on it.

The "clutter-concept."

Let us call the ordinary-language idea that has a word but lacks a privileged predicate a "clutter-concept" ; because it is a complicated business of related ideas, none outstanding and most of interest and because it is like, but perhaps not just like, the "cluster-conce under discussion by today's philosophers-of-science.

The clutter-concept may well have the following properties: 1) It suggests many narrower predicates which are somewhat like each other. 2) There may be intransitive resemblances among these suggeste predicates: predicates A and C resemble B but not each other. 3) Any such predicate sent into the world as defining of a social-science variable will leave without the family treasure; it won't be all, or enough, of the main idea. 4) Conceivably, with no attributes defining, the clutter-concept can be scaled. It might even be good two ways, "valid" in some predictive sense and approximating our intuitive notions of what the concept is. But A) if the scale bridges a big distance and transitivity does not hold, it will measure different things at different ends; in worlds so interesting, one can imagine the scale rippling off wormlike to somewhere else entirely. B) There may be too many important fine shadings; scales measuring the core of the idea could miss the difference between love and hate at many junctures. C) The scales are all right as the crow flies, but do not tell you the true contours and boundaries which you must understand, say, to understand the conceptual scheme of an actor in a social situation. (Which interests some of us, and might even be necessary for micro-prediction; perhaps someday a "scientific" prediction of whether your old friend will show up for lunch will be as good as yours).

But this is not to say that the clutter-concept is wholly intractable. The list of important characteristics and ranges over which the term may vary can be named and understood. I think it it possible to block the ranges of these things in property-space, much as a director blocks a play. Of "commitment," for instance-- commitment in all the senses--we can list the possible directions it can take, hope to find transformations that are not possible, and then study what happens in controlled experimental cases. I believe I am suggesting parametric study, like Skinner's; if I wished to be wartish, I might call it the human equivalent of his theory of pigeon behavior, but perhaps it is not that.

Conclusion

Precautions and thought may help discuss clearly the nature of man in a way that will entice the layman's wary-- but why unwelcome? approach, help deal subtly with subtlety, and help express theory without making the language fit your idea the way cattle are made to fit a deepfreeze.

Ted Nelson

THE PROPER LANGUAGE OF SOCIOLOGY

"Every language and every well-knit technical sub-language incorporate
certain points of view and certain patterned resistances to widely divergent points of view." (B.L. Whorf)

Much ado is made from time to time about the differences between the 'exact' sciences and the behavioral sciences. And the implied dichotomy is not entirely unreal. We should, however, be sure that we know the nature of the differences. I would like to suggest (not an entirely novel suggestion) that one difference lies in the language (in the broadest sense) used by the two classes of science. Wittgenste and others have stated that the proper function of philosophy is the clarification of language; we hope that the philosophers will not tak it unkindly if we explore their field for a while, for our own purpos

The following essay will consist of a series of statements on th proper way to talk about social phenomena. The only purpose is clarification. I shall propound no hypotheses about 'groups,' 'societies' or 'culture.'

Purpose, Teleology, and Problem-Solving

A very common misuse (from my point of view) of language in talking about social processes and events occurs in statements about the 'purposes' that people have behind their behavior. This particular kind of statement has many variants. Not only: 'People do this for that purpose,' but also the kind of analysis done by 'functionalists,' like: 'Society does this in order to adapt to its environment.' Often this is followed by an explanation that the teleological statement is only a metaphor: 'What we really mean is that society must have mechanisms to accomplish certain things, if it is to survive.' But such a qualification does not change the fact that the language (metaphorical or not) is a language of purpose. The same holds for

statements like: 'Culture is problem-solving behavior,' which again on inspection turns out to be purpose-language.

Now, I am not going to suggest that 'It is not the case that human behavior is purposeful' (for one thing because I do not know what 'the case is.'). Nor will I say that such ways of talking are entirely unfruitful. Rather, I will say that such use is cart-before-the-horse use. 'Adaptation' or 'problem-solving' is the result, not the 'cause' ('purpose') of human behavior. We must look elsewhere for the determinants.

An Example

Let me illustrate. Suppose I am stopped by a policeman who asks me: "Why are you walking up Grand River Avenue?" I reply: "To get to my room." That is, I state my purpose and this is commonly accepted as an adequate answer. But a philosophically minded policeman might not be so easily satisfied. He might ask, for example: "Why are you going to your room? Why are you not walking to Detroit or Niagara Falls?" And the only reply I could immediately make would be: "Why, because that is not my purpose." This is obviously not enough, for he could counter:"Why isn't it your purpose?" The only answer I could then give would consist of showing him how, because of my particular position in society, I was affected by certain factors in the environment, with the result that I now was 'motivated' to go to my room.

Of course, in the case of a single individual it would be difficult to bring to light all the various forces acting upon him. But as sociologists we are primarily interested in groups. Groups actually are simpler to study than individuals; members of social groups ordinarily have only a few things in common, and it is precisely these commonalities which determine the actions of the group qua group.

Then our job, as sociologists, is to study not the group mind, but the non-subjective, environmental determinants of group behavior.

(It is not possible with our present state of knowledge in sociology to precisely delineate these non-subjective factors. However, we may suspect that they will be related to 'structural' variables, such as age, sex, national background, etc. For example, Sorokin [1] calls age, sex and racial plurals 'as-if-organized groups.' Members of these plurals tend to react in the same way to certain conditions in the environment, hence giving the appearance of concerted, prearranged action. In my terminology, members are affected by the same behaviora determinants. Why this uniformity of behavior in these particular plurals? This can be answered only by further empirical and theoretical research.)

The Use of 'Purpose-Language'

If what I say is correct, then how can I also hold that purpose-language may still be useful? Precisely for the reason that it is helpful in making a deduction (such as the 'fact of adaptation') to know ahead of time what it is that we wish to deduce. Not that our conclusion is a foregone one; rather we must have some direction in ou calculations. This is entirely legitimate; in fact, sociologists might to good result use a method common in mathematics, of specifying what you want a function to do before specifying the form of the function. (Of course it may turn out when the calculation is made that the results are not entirely what we expected, especially when we push the deduction beyond its original scope.) This, I think, is the import of the remark by Poincaré [2] :

> The science of physics does not only give us (mathematicians) an opportunity to solve problems, but also helps us to discover the means of solving them, and it does this in two ways: it leads us to anticipate the solution and suggests suitable lines of argument.

A Note on 'Prejudice'

It is interesting to note that in the preceding paragraphs I have used phrases like 'our purposes' or locutions to the same effect. This may be the very heart of the difficulty. We all, even the most 'positivistic' of us, are very, very deeply steeped in the use of purpose-language. Perhaps this is the core of statements like: 'It is extremely difficult to be objective in sociology, since we have so many prejudices about people.' The 'prejudice' may well be that we as humans 'know' introspectively that we have purposes, and tend thus to impute purpose to what we are studying.

Functionalism and Game Theory

The criticism I am suggesting is not new; it is implicit in the works of many philosophers such as Aristotle, with his classification of causes as formal, efficient, material and final. (E.g. "The house is there that men may live in it, but it is also there because the builders have laid one stone upon another"). But because of the great popularity today of 'functional' analysis (and because Hempel has argued so convincingly that such analysis cannot lead to prediction[3]) it may be worthwhile to revive the discussion.

'Functionalists' are not the only sinners with respect to purpose-language. Game theory is not essentially different when it analyses behavior in terms of its effects (i.e. maximization of expectation of gain, or minimization of expectation of loss). But in this case the sin is more likely to lead to virtue, since the desired result is stated in mathematical form; thus it might be possible to 'work back' to premises from which the game matrix may be deduced.

Quantification and Mathematization in Sociology

It is no longer novel to speak of mathematics as a language; the

whole trend towards 'mathematization' in sociology may be seen as an attempt to construct a language precise enough to speak unambiguously about human behavior. Much excellent work has been and is being done in this program (notably the work of Herman Simon[4]). But one perhaps unanticipated result of this, which may be very healthy for our science will be an increasing tendency for sociologists to take over some of th habits of thinking developed by mathematicians.

Outcome Space

One useful concept which may be brought over is the idea of an 'outcome space.' In setting up a problem for analysis it is often useful to have some idea of the form you expect the answer to take. The following remarks from "Universal Mathematics" put it well[5]:

> Ask yourself what kind of an object the answer will be. It is profitable to think of the answer as one of a set of possible outcomes. In order to be sure you know what you are looking for, you will necessarily consider that the answer belongs to a set of possible outcomes. Is it one of a set of numbers? Is it one of a set of pairs of numbers? Is the answer a function?

To put it colloquially, 'How will you know you've got one when you've got one?' Without such prior specification, the sociologist may someday find himself in the embarrassing position of Lewis Carroll's Snark Hunters. They knew that they wished to catch a Snark, and they knew that one must avoid a Boojum; unfortunately, what they did *not* know, was the Snark *was* a Boojum!

Conclusion

In the preceding parts of this essay I have suggested that many of the difficulties which face us as sociologists may be due to misuse of language. Mathematics, and especially the mathematical habits of thinking, may help us to avoid the more obvious mistakes. For example, it is more difficult to talk about 'purpose' when our

discourse, as Lewis Carroll once put it, is 'full of indices and surds.'

If what I say is correct, it does not follow that all sociologists should immediately stop their researches and brush up on the more recent developments in philosophy of science, or rush to take more courses in mathematics. But it does seem important that a few specialists, especially among the theoreticians, pay more attention to these problems. (One notable advance in the direction is the recent Symposium on Sociological Theory[6]). We should become aware of the import of the remark that Wittgenstein makes somewhere: "Study the network, not what the network traces."

Murray A. Beauchamp

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[1] P. Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality, Harpers, N.Y., 1947; p. 181 ff.

[2] Quoted in G. Polya, "Induction and Analogy in Mathematics" (Vol. I of Mathematics and Plausible Reasoning,) Princeton U. Press, Princeton, N.J., 1954: page 142.

[3] Carl Hempel," The Logic of Functional Analysis, " in L. Gross (editor), Symposium on Sociological Theory, Row, Peterson & Co., Evanston, Illinois, 1959; pp. 271-310.

[4] Herbert Simon, Models of Man: Social and Rational, " John Wiley & Sons, N.Y., 1957.

[5.] Universal Mathematics, preliminary edition, by the Department of Mathematics, University of Kansas. Ann Arbor, 1959, p.

[6.] Op. Cit. Contains many excellent discussions of the philosophy of social sciences, and the use of formalization.

On Nelson's Literary and Epistemological Reasons.

1. The impact of scientific reductionism on both public and professional consciousness is often damaging. Psychoanalysts have done a good deal of unintended damage here. Love becomes "merely" the obverse of hate. The word "ego" with its many connotations, and including truncated typographic ones and egocentric ones, takes the place of the word "self". People have come to speak glibly of friendly relations among males as "homosexual", with an increase in guardedness and cynicism, a decrease in friendship, and no corresponding increase in understanding.

But it is easy, if I know from my own experience, to go astray in this field, even if one is scrupulously sensitive to the concerns Mr. Nelson expresses. For example, in referring in the Lonely Crowd to "the indignants", or "the curdled indignants", who brought outrage but not intelligence to their political styles, my collaborators and I unwittingly added to the growing wave of "new conservatism" which was making all morality and politics suspect, and making humane indignation seem ridiculous. As I have argued elsewhere, however, seemingly neutral and non-evaluative terms do not avoid these dilemmas, for they can express a deadpan or condescending view of the world and thus be loaded after all.

2. If we are to become more democratic, it is important that citizens of average education learn to find their way around as consumers of social science research, and that this task not be made needlessly difficult for them by unnecessary opacity. General education in the social sciences might well include discussion of the sociology of knowledge including the sociology of the professional man, not of course covering the whole gamut, but illustrative of different fields so that college graduates can emerge with a general sense of how to read a journal article and how to find out what they need to know in order to get something out of what they read. Jerome Bruner's work on how knowledge is codified . and organized could be helpful in this enterprise, as it has already been in the natural sciences and mathematics. This is the only defense I can see against manipualtion by experts, but widespread understanding of the social sciences is also important for the sheer pleasure and enlightenment that comes from them,

pleasure that can often be one a parity with that provided by the traditional humanities.

3. In my earlier incarnation as a lawyer, I discovered that legalism was especially sought after by lay persons who lacked the sense that the good lawyer gains of the limitations of language and the traps and pretentiousness. Social science jargon has similarly its lay practitiones: I submit the enclosed letter just received as exhibit A.

"Dear Mr. Riesmann:

I wish to thank you for your consideration in reviewing our leadership training plans and to express my disappointment in that you feel our problem is outside of your competence area.

The recommendation of your colleagues, Dr. ----- and Dr. -----, is most appreciated. Considering their specialties and experience in government and navy personnel problems, I agree that it would be very helpful if they could talk to Mr. ----- and Mr. -----.

I plan to communicate with Drs, ----- and -----, forwarding information on our leadership plans and requesting a meeting with Messrs, ----- and -----.

Sincerely yours..."